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UNIVERSALIST HISTORICAL
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DISCUSSION
OF
UNIVERSALISM,
OR A
Defence of Orthodoxy
AGAINST THE HERESY OF UNIVERSALISM,
AS ADVOCATED BY MR. ABNER KNEELAND,
IN THE DEBATE
IN THE UNIVERSALIST CHURCH, LOMBARD STREET,
JULY, 1824,
AND IN HIS VARIOUS PUBLICATIONS,
AS ALSO IN THOSE OF MR. BALLOU, AND OTHERS.

THE PROFITS OF THE IMPRESSION TO GO TO THE FUNDS OF THE YOUNG MEN'S MYS-
TIC MISSIONARY SOCIETY, COMPOSED OF DIFFERENT DENOMINATIONS.

BY W. L. MCALLA,

PHILADELPHIA: PRINTED BY JOHN YOUNG, 34, NORTH THIRD STREET.

.....
1825.

Eastern District of Pennsylvania, to wit :



Be it remembered, that on the twenty-fourth day of January, in the forty-ninth year of the Independence of the United States of America, A. D. 1825, WILLIAM LATTA M'CALLA, of the said District, hath deposited in this Office the Title of a Book, the right whereof he claims as Author, in the words following, to wit :

"A Discussion of Universalism ; or a Defense of Orthodoxy, against the Heresy of Universalism, as advocated by Mr. Abner Kneeland, in the Debate in the Universalist Church in Lombard-street, July, 1824, and in his various publications, as also, in those of Mr. Bullou and others. The profits of the impression to go to the Funds of the Young Men's Domestic Missionary Society, composed of different denominations. By W. L. M'Calla."

In conformity to the Act of the Congress of the United States, entitled, "An Act for the Encouragement of Learning, by securing the Copies of Maps, Charts, and Books to the Authors and Proprietors of such Copies, during the times therein mentioned ;"—And also to the Act, entitled, "An Act for the Encouragement of Learning, by securing the Copies of Maps, Charts, and Books to the Authors and Proprietors of such Copies during the times therein mentioned," and extending the Benefits thereof to the Arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints."

D. CALDWELL,
Clerk of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

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PREFACE.

SHORTLY after my arrival in this place, last May, information was received from various quarters, that Mr. Kneeland had long been in the habit of defying the armies of the living God, and of glorying in their silence as the effect of conscious guilt and error. Aware of my own weakness, but confiding in the Great Head of the Church, it was impossible to conceal my desire that he would challenge *me*. A mutual friend gave him an intimation of my willingness to accept a personal invitation; but without effect. His general challenge was then made the ground of a correspondence which terminated in a public conference. This was not, by any means, intended to supersede the necessity of a printed defence, but to excite the public attention to such a work, and to make it more worthy of their patronage, as well as to silence the audacious boasting of this enemy of God and man. He soon betrayed a great anxiety to terminate the debate. After several unsuccessful efforts, he cut it short by virtually closing the door of *his desk* upon me. Sickness and the heat of the city soon obliged me to retire to the country. This was called a *retreat*, and it was boldly and publicly denied that the doors of the church were shut upon me. To settle these points, an offer was made to resume the discussion, which offer he was *very far* from accepting. To retrieve their loss, a Universalist preacher, a pretended stenographer, was *employed* to write the debate in such a way as to transfer the victory from one side to the other. Although he at first promised verbal accuracy, he at last professed to give *the argument* only: but this was as far beyond his capacity as it was contrary to his wish. The performance of his enterprise with fidelity and ability, would have been much more gratifying to me and my friends than to him and his. Yet every one conversant with such matters, knows that in such discussions, an argument is more diluted than it should be when committed to paper; and that it is not necessary to record repeated refutations of the same error, which were made necessary in debate, in order to meet the extemporaneous and reiterated effusions of heretical sophistry. Although the employed stenographer professed to do justice to my argument, he has been guilty of such omissions and interpolations, transpositions and alterations, as were calculated to destroy it. While, for the sake of perspi-

cuity and precision, I take the liberty of arranging and condensing the matter of the discussion, in such a manner as is suitable to written composition, the hearer will see that real justice is done to the argument on both sides. As my opponent has had a full opportunity of *speaking* for himself, so, in revising and correcting the work of his *employed* Reporter, he has had a full opportunity of *writing* for himself. To copy all that he has published, through his stenographer, for himself and for me, is not my design. Any one who has read those drowsy pages will readily excuse me, and any one who has not, may see a fair specimen in the piece signed *Long-hand*, published in the Democratic Press, of Sept. 22nd, and copied in No. 21, of the Introductory Documents in this work. This is one of the least important of many newspaper publications connected with this controversy, with which it is thought proper to occupy the first part of this volume. For reasons explained in the introductory documents, its bulk will also be increased by additional matter both in confirmation and refutation; and the latter of these shall now take the precedency, as the arguments of my opponent are all before me, in what he calls "as faithful a report as ever was made."

INTRODUCTORY DOCUMENTS.

No. 1.

THE CHALLENGE.

In the Philadelphia edition of Buck's Theological Dictionary, by Edwin T. Scott, 1823, Mr. Kneeland, under the article *Universalists*, boasts that several works written by himself and Mr. Ballou, "have never been answered." He was also in the habit of giving challenges from the pulpit, and he and his followers were in the practice of boasting that they were not accepted. In a note attached to his 8th Lecture, he says, "at each publication, the learned clergy have been respectfully called upon to shew wherein these statements are incorrect. They have not seen fit to do it; and it is believed, for this good reason, because they know the statements are true. As, therefore, the most important facts contained in this Lecture have been more than *thirteen years* before the public, and yet remain uncontroverted, they now come forth with this additional evidence of their truth. Because it is fair to presume (the facts here stated being so important in themselves to the cause of religion) that if they could have been contradicted, with any colour of evidence, they would have been before this time." The following are extracts from the preface to his Lectures, viz. "The work has had an opportunity to be fully tested by public opinion; and notwithstanding the substance of the eighth Lecture (which is the most important of any in point of doctrine,) has been before the public nearly twenty years, and it is now more than five years since this work was first published, yet no one has attempted to point out a single error, in relation to the facts as herein stated, or to shew that any of the arguments are either unfounded or inconclusive. This is considered as a silent acknowledgement, that in the opinion of the clergy generally, the work is unanswerable: otherwise, being so often and so respectfully called upon to consider the doctrine and arguments here advanced, and point out the errors, if there be any, it is difficult to account

for their silence on this subject." "He therefore once more respectfully *invites* and *intreats* the clergy of other denominations, or some *one* of them, the more learned the better, to *discuss* this important subject with him, and to point out to him and the public, the supposed errors of the following work."

No. 2.

THE ACCEPTANCE.

MR. KNEELAND,

It is said that the Universalists have two Churches in the city, and there is a report in circulation that permission has been asked and obtained for me to preach in one of them. If I ever gave leave to any of my friends to make this request for me, (which is quite probable,) it was done inadvertently. But as it was granted, I take this opportunity of acknowledging the favour, and of informing you, or your friends through you, that for the present, the acceptance of it is declined. This is done, not from a belief that it is unlawful to preach our distinguishing doctrines in such a place, but because I prefer coming in contact with you, in a manner which has hitherto been more agreeable to your own wishes. I am informed that you have discussed the most prominent question in your creed with several laymen, and that you have, privately and publicly, given verbal and written invitations to the clergy in general, to defend their faith in public debate. This general invitation was published, perhaps, in the first edition of your "Lectures on the doctrine of Universal Benevolence," in 1819. You tell us that this was not noticed. In the preface of your 2d edition, in the present year, you inform us, that "this is considered as a silent acknowledgment that, in the opinion of the clergy generally, the work is unanswerable: otherwise, being so often and so respectfully called upon to consider the doctrine and arguments here advanced, and point out the errors, if there be any, it is difficult to account for their silence on this subject." Subsequently, in page 198, you inform us in a note, that your principles were published in New Hampshire, in 1805, and New-York, 1816. "And at each publication the learned clergy have been respectfully called upon to shew wherein these statements are incorrect. They

have not seen fit to do it, and it is believed, for this good reason, because they know the statements are true." Accordingly, in the preface of this 2d edition, "The author," "once more, respectfully invites and entreats the clergy of other denominations, or some one of them, the more learned the better, to discuss this important subject with him; and to point out to him and the public, the supposed errors of the following work."

When your friends witness your great anxiety to submit your sentiments to unlimited investigation by word or writing, in private or in public, they admire and praise your candour and magnanimity, in proportion as they condemn our reluctance to encounter you. It is to be hoped that we shall not now change sides, and that a willingness on our part shall not cool your ardour for the contest. If God spare my life, it appears probable that I shall labour for some time in the city. Without any claims to superior learning, I do, after prayer and mature deliberation, feel disposed to comply with your reasonable requisition, and to gratify your repeated and urgent entreaties for a public discussion. That this may be prosecuted to advantage, it should be done in an orderly manner, according to a plan previously arranged. If you agree to such a measure, I should be glad, if, in your answer to this letter, you would give me the precise point which you mean to defend, in opposition to the absolute eternity of the sinner's future punishment. Do you plead for the annihilation of the wicked, as the Destructionists do? Do you believe in their restoration to heaven after being punished in hell? And if so, do you believe this punishment to be gratuitous, disciplinary, penitentiary, or satisfactory? Or do you believe that they are all, without going to hell, saved at death, or at the general resurrection, after receiving condign punishment on earth, or after receiving, not a condign, but a gratuitous, a penitentiary, or a disciplinary punishment? It is hoped that your answer, as soon as convenient, will prepare the way for a speedy meeting.

W. L. M'CALLA.

Philadelphia, 69, North Third-street. July 2, 1824.

Mr. Abner Kneeland.

No. 3.

Mr. M'CALLA,

Your letter of July 2d was received during my absence. I returned from New York last evening, and embrace the

first opportunity this morning to reply. You are under an entire mistake, sir, in supposing that I have "privately and publicly given verbal and written invitations to the clergy in general to defend their faith in public debate." I have never solicited a public debate with any man, either clergyman or layman, unless what I have written in the preface to the second edition to my lectures can be so construed. And even there the discussion is limited to the supposed errors of that work; at the same time nothing is said about a public debate. My ideas are before the public, in print, and if any important errors are contained in them, I expect they will be pointed out to me and the public in the same way; namely, from the press. That I have discussed some important doctrinal points with laymen, in a society instituted for that purpose, is true; and I wish to have it distinctly understood, that while I have never solicited a public debate with any man, I have never declined one, and should I now come in "contact" with a clergyman, in this way, it would not be the first time. What I have solicited, is to have the supposed errors of my Lectures pointed out: If that is to be the subject, the discussion must be limited to what is there written.

Should the subject of the Lectures be waived, (to which I have no objection,) I should come to the main question at once, namely, Does the law of God require that sin, committed here in time, and in this state of mortality, should be punished in eternity, or beyond *death*, meaning to be understood by that term, a dissolution of this mortal existence? I shall deny the existence of any such law, and consequently of any such punishment. Hence we should have no occasion to discuss either the nature or the duration of punishment, unless the *fact* can first be proved. I shall contend, however, that no punishment, as coming from God will be incompatible with infinite and divine love to the individual that is punished.

A. KNEELAND.

Philadelphia, 31 South Second st. July 7, 1824.

Mr. W. L. M'Calla.

No. 4.

Mr. KNEELAND,

Yours of yesterday has been duly received. You inform me that you have "never solicited a public debate with any man," though you "have never declined one;" and that you

have, before now, come in contact, in this way, both with the laity and the clergy. As you profess a willingness to do the same again, we will leave the community to judge whether all that you have said and done, and written and published, will amount to an invitation or not.

As we have soon agreed to meet, the preliminary regulations need not occasion much delay. I would propose the following.

Rules of conference adopted and signed this day of
 1824, in the city of Philadelphia, by Abner Kneeland and W. L. M'Calla. Duplicates given to the parties.

1. The proposition for discussion shall be as follows, viz. Is the future punishment of the wicked absolutely eternal? or is it only a temporal punishment in this world, for their good, and to be succeeded by eternal happiness after death?

2. Each speaker shall be entitled to an alternate address of thirty minutes, and no longer, unless the other party waive his right.

3. The discussion shall be moderated by three men, each of the parties choosing one, and these two a third, who shall be considered the President of the Bench.

4. The discussion shall (God willing,) commence on the inst. at the Church, at half past 9 o'clock, A. M. and continue, if necessary until noon. It shall, if necessary, be resumed at 4, and continued until half after 6, and so on from day to day until both parties are satisfied.

5. The debate shall be opened and closed by one party in the forenoon and another in the afternoon. And in case of a continuance, the party who relinquished this privilege on the morning of the first day, shall, if requiring it, enjoy it on the morning of the second; and so on.

The only difficulty likely to occur in the consideration of the above rules is in the first of them, which settles the subject of discussion. In your letter you propose a question for debate, without which you say "we should have no occasion to discuss either the nature or the duration of punishment." To this I answer that the duration of punishment is the very point in question between us, and the only one on

first opportunity this morning to reply. You are under an entire mistake, sir, in supposing that I have "privately and publicly given verbal and written invitations to the clergy in general to defend their faith in public debate." I have never solicited a public debate with any man, either clergyman or layman, unless what I have written in the preface to the second edition to my lectures can be so construed. And even there the discussion is limited to the supposed errors of that work; at the same time nothing is said about a public debate. My ideas are before the public, in print, and if any important errors are contained in them, I expect they will be pointed out to me and the public in the same way; namely, from the press. That I have discussed some important doctrinal points with laymen, in a society instituted for that purpose, is true; and I wish to have it distinctly understood, that while I have never solicited a public debate with any man, I have never declined one, and should I now come in "contact" with a clergyman, in this way, it would not be the first time. What I have solicited, is to have the supposed errors of my Lectures pointed out: If that is to be the subject, the discussion must be limited to what is there written.

Should the subject of the Lectures be waived, (to which I have no objection,) I should come to the main question at once, namely, Does the law of God require that sin, committed here in time, and in this state of mortality, should be punished in eternity, or beyond *death*, meaning to be understood by that term, a dissolution of this mortal existence? I shall deny the existence of any such law, and consequently of any such punishment. Hence we should have no occasion to discuss either the nature or the duration of punishment, unless the *fact* can first be proved. I shall contend, however, that no punishment, as coming from God will be incompatible with infinite and divine love to the individual that is punished.

A. KNEELAND.

Philadelphia, 31 South Second st. July 7, 1824.

Mr. W. L. M'Calla.

No. 4.

Mr. KNEELAND,

Yours of yesterday has been duly received. You inform me that you have "never solicited a public debate with any man," though you "have never declined one;" and that you

difficulties in connection with the point

... before now, come ...
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... either the nature or the duration of punish-
... To this I answer that the ... of punishment is
... point in question ... only one ...

which I am willing to meet you : and of course I should not wish to turn my attention to one which would exclude it. This is the very feature which distinguishes the Universalists from other sects. And remember, Sir, that you are called a Universalist preacher, your book is on universal benevolence, and it was addressed to the Universalist church. The fact that this book treats principally on the *duration of punishment*, was the reason of its invitation being accepted. If it should now be postponed for another, you may afterward introduce another and another without end. Some would suspect this to be a plan of procuring an indefinite postponement of a question which you profess a great willingness to discuss.

But let us see whether you have not done injustice to your own question. Without its accompanying explanation it reads as follows; viz. " Does the law of God require that sin committed here in time, and in this state of mortality should be punished in eternity or beyond death ?" This is a question about eternal punishment; and how you could investigate it, and at the same time " have no occasion to discuss either the nature or the *duration of punishment*," I am at a loss to know. *The duration of punishment* is the very jet of the question, and I would freely undertake to discuss it, were it not for the very reason which (as some would suspect) induced you to propose it. That reason is, that this question is an attempt to preclude me from the benefit of all but one argument, and that thought to be the weakest one of many arguments by which our opinion is supported. You would not permit me to confine you to one argument any more than to one text, and a persevering attempt to do either would be easily understood by those friends who have so long admired your polemical prowess.

The question as stated in the above rules does justice to you and myself. It trammels neither, but leaves each at liberty to manage his cause in his own way. It is hoped, therefore, that there will be no farther difficulty about the investigation of questions confessedly irrelevant to the subject ; especially as the discussion of such questions was never made a pre-requisite to your former debates with either laymen or clergymen.

As the young men's Missionary Society have sent me an appointment which may soon be accepted, it is but right to inform you that this correspondence was undertaken on my

own motion, after asking counsel of God, and of course, is not to be considered as attaching any responsibility to the Missionary Society or to the Clergy of the city.

W. L. M'CALLA.

Philadelphia, 69 North Third-st. July 8, 1824.

Mr. Abner Kneeland.

No. 5.

Mr. CALLA,

Yours of this morning, proposing a conference, or public debate, has been received, and now lays before me. I hereby accept your proposals, and agree to the arrangement, with the exception of a single word in the first proposition, a word entirely unnecessary on your part, and which involves a main question with me. I mean the word "future" in connection with punishment. The reason why I wish to exclude this word from the proposition, may be obvious: the terms "future punishment" are so generally understood to mean a punishment in another world; it would seem that I had admitted the fact of the existence of such punishment, by agreeing to discuss its duration, a doctrine which but few Universalists believe, and which is not contained (but proofs to the contrary are contained) in my Lectures. You must be sensible, sir, that it will be altogether nugatory to talk about the duration of punishment in another world, until we have good evidence that such punishment either does, or will, at some future period, exist. I do not deny you the use of any evidence, or any arguments which go to establish this fact; but unless, sir, you are prepared to prove this, namely, the certainty of punishment in another world, that is, in another state of existence, you must, I think, be sensible that you cannot prove that punishment is "absolutely eternal."

In order to fix on time and place, and make such other arrangements as may be necessary, have the goodness to call on me this afternoon at 5 o'clock, or as soon as convenient.

A. KNEELAND.

Thursday, 3 o'clock, P. M.

No. 6.

The Rules of Conference adopted and signed by the parties may be seen in No. 16, where they are introduced by a Universalist preamble, which, though written over my name, was no more my own production than the speeches which Mr. Jennings has attributed to me.

No. 7.

FROM THE DEMOCRATIC PRESS OF JULY 20; 1824.

We had not intended to have taken any notice of the late Theological Controversy which took place in this city, but a friend having taken the trouble to prepare the following we do not feel at liberty to set it aside, whatever may be our unwillingness or reluctance to publish any thing which may savour of religious disputation or sectional prejudices.

FOR THE DEMOCRATIC PRESS.

M'CALLA vs. KNEELAND.

"If I am right, thy grace impart,

Still in the right to stay;

If I am wrong, O teach my heart,

To find that better way."

Mr. Editor.—

The dispute between the above named gentlemen which continued for four days, which was concluded this evening, Friday; I presume is no news to you. To give some account of this strange controversy, or I should more properly call it this novel mode of conducting a religious controversy, I devoted a few minutes after retiring from the scene of action, (the Universalist Church in Lombard street) hoping that it may be agreeable to your readers both in "town and country" to know something about this spirit stirring affair which has brought both ends of our town together, day after day, since the discussion commenced.

The subject of debate between the Rev. Mr. M'Calla of the Presbyterian persuasion, from Kentucky, and the Rev Mr. Kneeland, Universalist, of this city, was whether there is, or is not, a "*State of Future and Eternal Punishment*."

The mode of dividing the time between the speakers had been previously agreed on; each was to have half an hour alternately, until the disputants or subject was exhausted. The debate began, and was continued, with all the earnestness, learning and zeal of the opponents. Every text, or perhaps nearly every text, was cited for or against, which is to be found in the inspired volume, and commented on in some shape or other. I think it proper not to say fully discussed, for it was declared this morning that the Church would be closed after to-day, and Mr. M'Calla had not, nor could not, get through his argument as he had originally intended to pursue it. He however abridged his comments in order to finish in the required time. In the course of this long debate there certainly was a handsome display of Biblical erudition on both sides, as well as good logical argument; but in the early part of the dispute there was one illiberal taunt against the "raw backwoods Kentuckian" to undertake to

teach theology in Philadelphia" which caused considerable asperity in reply, and was not forgotten through the whole debate. The Kentuckian not only proved himself a zealous servant of his Master, a good theologian and an able debater, but also a good Greek, Hebrew and Latin scholar, and well read in the fathers of the Church.

At half past six o'clock on Friday evening the contest closed. Mr. Kneeland reiterated many of his favourite texts, made a last and powerful appeal for the reason, plausibility and mercy of his doctrine, and concluded by insisting that his construction of Divine Law was the true and catholic gospel of Christ. Mr. McCalla had the last half hour, and concluded the debate by a concise recapitulation of some of his strongest proofs in support of his opinions. His peroration was really excellent, solemn and impressive; his reasoning was sound and irrefutable. A description I cannot attempt; the whole will be printed I presume, but the reader will not, nay, I had almost said, cannot, have an adequate idea of the intense zeal and fervour of the speaker, to instill into every mind the BLESSED TRUTH.

The disputants shook hands and separated with perfect good will towards each other as men, though as widely differing as Christians as when they first met. The immense crowd of spectators also separated in a very peaceable quiet manner.

PAUL.

No. 8.

Paul was answered by a Vestryman who denied that I had been excluded from the church. In the Democratic Press of July 24th, he replies; after which Mr. Kneeland, in the same paper, of the 27th, confirms the account of the Vestryman.

FROM THE DEMOCRATIC PRESS, JULY 24.

MCALLA AND KNEELAND ONCE MORE.

Mr. Editor—You will confer a favour by inserting the following brief reply to "A Member of the Vestry," and you may rest assured that I shall not trouble you again on this subject.

The following sentence which I still aver to be substantially true, is roundly pronounced *false* by the *vestry man*;—"It was declared this morning [meaning Friday morning,] that the church would be closed after to-day, and Mr. McCalla had not, nor could not, get through his argument, as he had originally intended to pursue it." Now I say words were never plainer spoken than these were by Mr. Kneeland, that "this house (meaning the Universalist Church,) could not be promised after

to-day, (Friday last) for the purpose of continuing this debate." Yet it is said no such declaration was made! and still it is admitted, Mr. M'Calla "*tried to insinuate that such had been the fact.*" Those who heard this controversy know full well that Mr. M'Calla did not indulge in insinuation in this instance, but plainly regretted that his time had been, contrary to agreement, prescribed. It is true when Mr. Kneeland replied to the regrets of his opponent, he did say, for ought he knew the church could be obtained for a month, if required so long: "*but that it did not belong to him, he had no control over it,*" and it did not suit a "A member of the Vestry," at that time to say any thing about it, therefore it must be closed as before stated, and it was closed accordingly.

No person will, I presume, have hardihood enough to deny that Abner Kneeland had not the same control over the church he had when the *Rules of Conference* were adopted and signed by him and his opponent. For the sake of illustrating the good faith of Mr. M'Calla's opponent I just copy the 4th and 6th articles of conference, viz:

4th The Discussion shall, God willing commence on the 13th inst. at half past 9 o'clock A. M. and continue if necessary, until noon. It shall be resumed if necessary at 4 o'clock, and continue until half past 6, P. M. and continue from day to day until both parties shall be satisfied.

6th The conference to be held at the Universalist Church in Lombard-st. and adjourned by mutual consent to some other suitable place.

Thus we perceive instead of an adjournment by mutual consent, the adjournment take place *volens volens*, without any consultation about it. After this it is to be hoped those "Challenges for disputation to the learned clergy, the more learned the better, of more than 20 years standing," will be withdrawn.

The vestry man says, "No declaration, therefore was made on either side, *except* what was made by Mr. Kneeland and Mr. M'Calla." No one ever said there was. Mr. Kneeland and Mr. M'Calla are the only persons the public know any thing about, they have said all, and done all that has been said or done, in this affair; so he, very unwittingly concedes all he had just been stoutly denying. In his N. B. he requests that public opinion may be suspended on the merits of the discussion. The merits of the discussion are to prove or disprove a *state of future and eternal punishment*, and in my humble opinion to those who read their Bibles, and have or even have not heard the debate cannot be thought to judge prematurely on a matter so plain to all but those who are determind to PUT OFF THE LAW OF GOD.

PAUL.

No. 9.

The following Letters passed between Mr. McCalla and Mr. Kneeland after the close of the foregoing Discussion:

MR. KNEELAND,

In the "Democratic Press" I observe a dispute between "PAUL" on one side, and you and "A VESTRYMAN" on the other side, whether or not I was brought to a premature close, in the discussion in Lombard-street Church. Your arguments and statements I deem incorrect. Yet one feature of your publication gives me pleasure. It is an indication of a willingness on your part to hear me until I am satisfied. You have, now, at least, given me "to understand, that in all probability, the house might be obtained as long as it should be wanted." Another meeting would give you an opportunity of answering that new matter to which you made no reply, and it would show whether my materials were exhausted or not. This would be suitable on another account: your challenge which was accepted in my letter of the 2d inst. "invites and intreats the clergy" "to discuss" not only one error, but "the supposed errors" of your Lectures. During the debate I showed that they erred on the Divinity of Christ, and intimated a willingness to meet you at a convenient season on that point. That intimation is now renewed. If you still entertain the desire manifested in your repeated challenges, it can now (God willing) be gratified at the same place, with the same rules, and under the same moderation:

Your speedy answer will be a gratification to

W. L. M'CALLA.

Philadelphia, July 31, 1824.

No. 69 North Third Street.

MR. M'CALLA,

As our former letters are published in the "Gazetteer," and the subsequent discussion is now in the Press, I shall publish, through the same medium, yours of the 31st ult. together with this my reply.

You say that you deem my "arguments and statements" to be "incorrect;" but you have not informed me to what arguments you allude, nor wherein my statements have been incorrect. This is reprehensible. No man ought to be charged with having made incorrect statements, without being informed, at the same time, wherein.

Although I had pledged myself, and was determined to hear you through at that time, yet I have given no pledge to meet you again in the same way; and whether I do, must depend on cir-

cumstances which are first to be considered.—As the Church in Lombard street, in which we held our late discussion, has been since, (at considerable expense,) both cleaned and repaired, I am not able to say whether it could be so soon obtained again for a similar purpose.

As to the new matter to which I had not an opportunity to reply, (Ps. ix. 5.) since it makes nothing in your favour, nor against any of my arguments, a bare note of a very few lines, will be all the reply I shall need.

Whether your materials were all exhausted or not, is a matter of no consequence; for if you could spend *four days* without the least attempt to reply to either my first or second argument, both of which were presented in my first speech, (to neither of which did you attempt any reply,) you probably might continue a month in the same way; and, after all, to no purpose.

If you wish to discuss the “supposed errors” of my Lectures, you must do it in the way the challenge (as you call it) was given, namely, through the medium of the press; for, as those Lectures have been so long before the public, I shall discuss that subject in no other way: nor, unless you are able to point out errors which are material and important in point of doctrine or fact, do I pledge myself to reply. You have *said* that there were errors in my Lectures, but you have not yet *shown* any. I did not think proper to contradict what you was pleased to say about them during the discussion, (except when you tried to pervert a single sentence,) and it was for this plain reason,—because they were not mentioned in the proposition for discussion.

Now, sir, I wish you distinctly to understand, notwithstanding whatever you may say about challenges, that before I will consent to debate with a man on any religious subject whatever, at any time or place, who has not only refused to unite with me in religious worship, but who has refused to give me his hand when mine was extended to him in token of friendship, in my own desk, he must give me satisfactory evidence that the clergy with whom he is connected, and with whom he professes to be in fellowship, however much they may disapprove of his conduct in this particular, nevertheless consider him as a brother in the faith, and approve of his mode of arguing on religious subjects. This, with me, is a *sine qua non*, and unless it be complied with, it will be useless to urge any thing further on the subject.

If I meet a man to discuss religious subjects before the public, I must meet him on the *level*;—he is not to have the privilege of assuming that he is a christian, and that his antagonist is an infidel, until he has proved, both from theory and practice, that such is the fact.—I ask, in this case, no more than what I am willing to give, should it be required.—Or, let your friends open the doors of one of their Churches, to accommodate the au-

dience, as mine have done, and I will consider it a satisfactory evidence that they are with you in this debate.

These preliminaries being settled, the first thing in order to be attended to, is, what has been already proposed.

1. You must show the law of God which requires "absolutely eternal punishment," or else acknowledge that no such law has been given to man.

2. You must show that God has threatened man, through the medium of his prophets, with a punishment which is "absolutely eternal," or else acknowledge that you cannot.

3. You must prove, from the New Testament, that there will be the *wicked*, (Ps. xxxvii. 10,) and, of course, a punishment for the wicked, after this mortal shall have put on immortality, or after that death is swallowed up of life, or acknowledge that you cannot.

4. No evidence will be admitted as a proof of a punishment between death and the resurrection, that is, in what is called an intermediate state, unless you can first prove that the soul or spirit of man (whatever you may understand by those terms) is susceptible of consciousness, and of course, of happiness or misery, independent of the organs of sense, or separate from a body.

5. I, on my part, will prove the latter part of our former proposition true, and that all mankind will ultimately be saved from sin, and consequently from punishment, or else acknowledge that I cannot.

6. It shall be mutually agreed, that the moment either wanders from the point in debate, in the opinion of either two of the moderators, he shall be stopped; and unless he will confine himself to the subject, in proper and decorous language, he shall not be allowed to proceed.

7. The moderators to be the same as on the last day of our former discussion, or such as may be mutually agreed upon.

With these regulations, and as many of the former as are not inconsistent with these, I should have no objection to continue the discussion till every point is fully settled, if practicable.

A. KNEELAND.

No. 31, South Second Street,

August 2, 1824.

In the Franklin Gazette of Aug. 23d, the following letter appeared, which was afterward copied into the Democratic Press of September 2d.

DEBATE ON UNIVERSALISM.

FOR THE FRANKLIN GAZETTE.

TO MR. ABNER KNEELAND.

SIR:—In my letter of the 31st ultimo, published in the Gazette of Monday, a plan was proposed for bringing the dispute between you and Paul, a writer in the Democratic Press, to a speedy settlement;—for giving you an opportunity of answering my new matter;—for securing to me the stipulated privilege of speaking until satisfied;—and of discussing with you, (if you thought proper,) the doctrine of Christ's divinity, on which subject your lectures afford another of those errors, for the discussion of which you have challenged the clerical world.

In your answer of the 2d instant, published also by you on yesterday, you intimate that it is unimportant whether I spoke until satisfied or not;—unimportant that you should answer the new matter;—and inadmissible that we should hold an *ore tenis* investigation of the divinity of Christ. Although your printed challenge is still standing, and your pulpit challenges are still uttered, you decline another meeting. Since the debate, you have altered your course. Whether this has arisen from a change in your views of policy or of propriety, the public must judge. Let it be however distinctly understood, that it is not the orthodox clergy, but Mr. Kneeland, the man of challenging memory, who retires from investigation. Whether your stenographical squire, the ostensible Editor of the pretended "Minutes" of the discussion, will, with your assistance, succeed better from the press than you have done from the rostrum, is problematical.

To a second meeting you object the expense of *cleaning* the house. It was never before graced with a greater proportion of females and respectable characters.

But you say that the house has been since *repaired*, and, therefore, although you were willing to continue the former debate, you think a second interview impracticable. Strange, that in a state of repair, a house cannot hold an overwhelming congregation, as well as when it has begun to give way! Until after the debate was closed, I did not know that the building, though propped on the last day, was ready to fall in ruins on the audience. Notwithstanding this, you have intimated to the public, that it might then have been obtained longer. Yet as it has since

been repaired, and there is little reason to expect that it will fall, we cannot have it again but must procure another church!

Your insisting that I should finish from the press a discussion which was begun in conference, shows that, you are learning by experience. With the help of God, you shall be satisfied here also.

As you are unwilling to have your flight from the controversy viewed in its real character, you propose new terms of conference. Three of your requisitions are, that I shall prove eternal punishment from the law, the prophets, and the New Testament. Without by any means, admitting that this is impracticable, it may be correctly observed that no man who believes in the inspiration of Scripture will reject any doctrine or precept, merely because it is not revealed by every inspired writer. Abundant testimony from the Old and New Testament was advanced in the debate. Yet, as you arrogate to yourself, though a party, the sole right of judging of my evidence; and as you have already decided that the Old Testament gives no intimation even of a future state, this demand for proof from that quarter was only intended as an insurmountable obstacle to another meeting.

The same general features characterize your fourth demand, requiring proof that the soul *can* exist separate from the body, before you will admit even the testimony of Moses and the prophets and the apostles, that it *does* so exist; as if infallible proof of the *fact* itself did not at once establish the *possibility* of the fact. You might as well say, that before you will admit scriptural testimony of the existence of God, this must first be proved from reason, independently of revelation. Although sound reason is entirely consistent with revelation, none but an infidel will give it paramount authority.

Our relative standing in this business may be plainly shown by the following supposed case: A Kentucky duellist, a character far too common, publishes a general challenge, and repeats it often. Suppose that the last edition reads as follows: "He once more respectfully invites and entreats the gentlemen of other states, or some one of them, the more expert the better, to exchange a few shots with him." Suppose that an eastern merchant, not scrupulous about the sixth commandment, is in Lexington on business, and meets him on his own premises. After four rounds, the Kentuckian, faint for the loss of blood, gives a hint to his antagonist, that they cannot probably occupy the ground any longer. They part, but after the invitation is again repeated and accepted, the Kentuckian demurs to the former regulations, and insists upon many new conditions, among which the following are four: 1. The lock of his antagonist's weapon must come from Europe. 2. The stock must come from

Asia. 3. The barrel must come from Africa. 4. No fire-arms will be admitted in this contest, unless you can first prove to my satisfaction that a man may be killed at the distance of ten steps, by the use of the ramrod alone, independently of powder and lead, and separate from the pistol. On hearing these demands, would not the eastern gentleman conclude that the backwoodsman was not yet recovered from his wounds? He would ask, why were not these conditions considered necessary to the first encounter? Of what importance is it where the weapon was manufactured, or how it is compounded, provided it is a lawful one? And why should it then be laid aside for something else?

Where you obtained a right to choose weapons for your antagonist as well as yourself, I cannot conceive. If it belong to either party, it is rather to the one who has accepted, than to the one who gave the challenge. Although analogy would decide that you have forfeited your claim in my favor, I thank God that I neither desire nor need exclusive privileges. They cannot be secured to you nor to me, by the principles of propriety, nor by the usages of theological polemics. You are at perfect liberty to choose your own position, and your own manner of defending it. If you choose, you may again ride into the field on the shoulders of Dr. Priestly, clothed in all the beauties of the improved version, covered from head to foot with such arms and accoutrements as your many Latin versions and Hutter's Polyglott. You may again tell the people how many languages you can read, and how many you cannot read, (alas!) for the want of Lexicons and grammars. While you set yourself off to the best advantage, you shall be at perfect liberty again to ridicule my country, my talents, and my pronunciation. You may also laugh again at my poor little unbound book of notes; while you smilingly shew to the assembly your *miniature Testament* with its *new coat*! You may as before, wander from the point whenever you please; and have great latitude, in repetitions, absurdities and sarcasms. You may again try every possible artifice to drive or to decoy me from the question in debate, and when you have failed, you may (as before) spend the other half of your time in complaining that I have never yet come to the point. These things should convince you that I am willing to accept your invitation on liberal principles, while you are *afraid* to prosecute your own challenge without very unfair advantages.

Your letter informs me moreover that we cannot again meet unless we are on the *level*;—unless I prove my christianity;—unless I am virtually re-ordained;—and unless I give you the right hand of fellowship.

Since our debate the duties on orthodoxy appear to be rising.

As this policy is intended to exclude that article from the market, the distinguishing features of your new polemical tariff deserve particular attention.

1. You say, "If I meet a man to discuss religious subjects before the public, I must meet him on the *level*." Many are at a loss for your meaning. Do you mean that you would more easily find your level among the unfledged disputants of your little debating societies; or among heretical teachers, whom the christian church has never acknowledged in any age? If so, your prudence may be commended, though not your piety. The words immediately following the above quotation seem rather to contradict than explain it. They are the following: "and he is not to have the privilege of assuming that he is a christian, and that his antagonist is an infidel, until he has proved both from theory and practice that such is the fact." To place us upon a *level*, then, in your view, I must prove myself a christian and you an infidel! This absurdity is not surprising in a man who has labored hard, as you have, to prove that Lazarus in Abraham's bosom, and the rich man in torment, were on a *level*.

2. Whether you meant the words last quoted as an illustration of the immediately preceding context or not, they require me to produce proof of my christianity in doctrine and practice. But who is to be the judge in this matter? As you are not satisfied with the decisions of many congregations and judicatories of the church, you would probably like, previous to meeting me again, to sit in judgment yourself upon my character. As you have, in common with other infidels, a great esteem for Dr. Priestly's "learning and piety;" and as you have, in your lectures, decidedly expressed this sentiment, and earnestly recommended his "History of the Corruptions of Christianity" to your readers; it is easy to see that you would pronounce me an impious idolater, and no christian. For this we need go no farther than a sermon preached by him, in the year 1796, in the church where our debate took place. For the proof of its doctrines he refers to the history mentioned above. In it he would persuade us that Christ is a mere creature, like Moses, or even the idol Baal. And he expressly declares, that "it is no less idolatry and impiety to worship him," than to worship them! In speaking of the corruptions that were left untouched at the reformation, he declares "that the first and the greatest of these corruptions is the idolatrous worship of *Jesus Christ*, as God equal to the Father." The Father he declares to be "the sole object of religious worship, and not Christ, any more than Moses, or any other person or being whatever."

It is not surprising that such a man should deny the inspiration of the Scriptures. In his History of the Corruptions of Christianity, which you have "earnestly" recommended to

your readers, he says, (and you virtually say with him,) that Paul wrote "without any particular inspiration," and that "the Scriptures were written without any particular inspiration." To be approved as a *christian in theory*, by such men as you and Dr. Priestly, it is necessary, then, that I should deny the divinity and atonement of Christ, and the inspiration of the Scriptures. From such *theory* it is easy to tell what sort of practice you would demand. This subject may receive some illustration hereafter, from your publications and those of your universalist coadjutor, concerning our debate. As, during that contest, I persisted in quoting your lectures, although you were thoroughly ashamed of them, you must excuse me if I now insist upon your connexion with a stenographer of whom you are as much ashamed. That you have reason to be so shall hereafter be fully proved, if Providence permit.

3. You appear to demand that I shall be ordained by the body of the Presbyterian clergy to the special work of contending with you, or I shall not enjoy this enviable privilege again. You require satisfactory evidence that they consider me as a brother in the faith, and approve of my mode of arguing on religious subjects. As the demand was made only to cover your retreat, the best evidence would not be satisfactory to you. That I had the approbation and the prayers of all the orthodox of all denominations who were present, is well known to yourself: And you well know from my being a member of the last general assembly, that the Presbyterians consider me a brother in the faith. Can you give the evidence which you here demand of me? Do you not know that some universalists of the Winchester stamp discard you as an infidel? Did you not know that others of your own sentiments lamented that you made so lame a defence, and wished that Mr. Mitchell of New York, (except for his irritability,) or Mr. Ballou of Boston, had occupied your place in the controversy? If I were afraid, here is a *sine qua non* of your own invention, under which to take shelter.

- On a former occasion, you made pathetic complaints of a pretended combination of the clergy against you. In your debate, you made what you could of my standing alone; telling the audience that I could not find a ministerial second in the city. Failing in this, you resort now to the old plan, and determine on not moving a step farther in the business until such a combination is formed, in order to increase your importance, and add pungency to your complaints. Whenever you will show satisfactory evidence that you have been appointed as an approved advocate of unitarianism or infidelity, by the University of Cambridge, or Transylvania, or the College of South Carolina, then may you demand of an antagonist, special Presbyterian or synodical credentials, and then shall you have them. But do not ex-

pect that our ecclesiastical ocean is going to rise in its majesty "to waft a feather or to drown a fly."

4. You object to meeting a man who has refused to join with you in religious worship; and who has refused to give you his hand in your *own desk*. During the debate, we were informed by yourself that it was your *own desk*; which, of course, induced me to close reluctantly when you told us that the house could not *probably be* procured another day. Yet this was not done without repeated declarations that I could not complete my defence in the time allowed me. I am glad, however, that you have publicly complained of my refusing you my hand in this famous desk of yours, since it has been incorrectly reported by one or more of your followers that I afterwards repented of this act. Immediately after the debate, you requested me to give you my hand as a man, since I could not do it as a christian. As this was only an emphatical way of rejecting your claims to christianity, I complied; and in doing so made an express and repeated denial of your christianity. For *refusing* to give you my hand, the Apostle John is my precedent, and his disciple, Polycarp, for my subsequent *compliance* with your request. John rejected your unitarian ancestor Cerinthus, as "the enemy of God;" and Polycarp acknowledged your relative Marcion, as "the first born of the devil."

But why should the unqualified eulogist of Dr. Priestly be so anxious to join in worship with trinitarians? This very man, "whose learning and piety" you so much admire, and whose writings you so "*earnestly* recommend" to your readers, has declared in your *own desk* that "no unitarian can conscientiously join in worship with trinitarians, since they have not the same object of worship." He declares "that they cannot conscientiously join in the devotions of others, who, believing both Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit to be, each of them, possessed of all divine attributes, as well as the Father, make them, (as to be consistent with themselves they ought to do,) equally the objects of their worship. This unitarians necessarily consider as idolatry, as much as the worship of the Virgin Mary, or any other saints in the Popish calender." Why should you wish to worship with trinitarians, when, with your oracle, the *charitable* Mr. Ballou, you think that you "find them causing their sons and their daughters to pass through the fire to a God which is the vanity of their imaginations?" And recollect, sir, that notwithstanding your evasions during the debate, those lectures of yours, which you are so anxious to preserve from another castigation, will ever fix upon you the same sentiments.

Great as your pretensions are to liberality and catholicism, you there represent us as the antichristian votaries of a God, with whose character you say that we "associate all the charac-

ter of the ferocious *Beast*" of the Apocalypse. To such persons you pretend that you are doing "the greatest possible kindness, by pointing out to them the CRUELTY OF THEIR GOD and the ABOMINATION OF ALL SUCH WORSHIP." These, sir, are your own words concerning the right worship of the true God by his faithful people. And yet, after this licentious traduction of their character, you pretend great solicitude to join with *such* a people in *such* a worship to *such* a God!

W. L. M'CALLA.

Philadelphia, August 22, 1824.

No. 12.

The above letter received the following notice in the two papers, of August 27th, and September 4th.

FOR THE FRANKLIN GAZETTE.

Mr. NORVELL:—I notice in your paper of the 23d instant, a long letter addressed to me, and signed "W. L. M'CALLA," which he probably expects me to answer; but as Mr. M'Calla has not complied with any of the terms on which it was proposed to him that the discussion between us might be renewed, I have no occasion to answer his long letter; being, as I am, perfectly willing to submit to the reasonableness of my propositions, and the candor of his rejoinder, to a discerning and judicious public.

A. KNEELAND.

Philadelphia, August 27, 1824.

[COMMUNICATION.]

Mr. BINNS:—I noticed in your paper of Thursday a communication from Mr. W. L. M'Calla, which had previously appeared in the Franklin Gazette; in answer to it, I have only to refer you to the letters that passed between Mr. M'C. and myself, that were published in that Gazette of the 23d ultimo, and afterwards in your own paper; in which it will be perceived, that I have offered to meet Mr. M'C. again (or in other words, have accepted his challenge) on condition that his friends will open one of their churches to accommodate the audience (as proof that they approve of his manner of conducting an argument) together with some other conditions therein named, not one of which has he complied with. Until therefore he shall comply with those conditions, or others equally fair, I have nothing more to say to him on the subject.

Respectfully,

A. KNEELAND.

Philadelphia, Sept. 3, 1824.

No. 13.

The Universalist Magazine, of August 28, sent to me from Boston contained the following:

FOR THE UNIVERSALIST MAGAZINE.

THE REV. MR. M'CALLA.

The public attention has, for some time, been excited by the movements of this gentleman, in Philadelphia. We have seen an account of his challenging the Rev. Mr. Kneeland to a public debate on the question whether the doctrine of endless misery be true; of Mr. Kneeland's acceptance; of the debate which was continued from day to day, until discontinued by mutual consent. We are further certified by what Mr. Kneeland has since published, that neither he nor his friends were in any degree convinced that the doctrine of endless misery is a doctrine of divine revelation; but contrary to this, we understand that it is their opinion that the challenger was never able to substantiate any thing which is essential to his doctrine, nor refute a single proposition which is necessarily connected with the doctrine of Universal Salvation. As much as the foregoing is well understood by many.

When I was at Hartford, Conn. last week, to attend the dedication of a new universalist meeting house in that City, and the installation of the Rev. Mr. Bisbe, I had the pleasure of seeing, among other faithful brethren, the Rev. Mr. Mitchell, from the City of New York. He showed me a letter which he had recently received, from the Rev. Mr. M'Calla, of Philadelphia, which informed Mr. Mitchell, that Mr. M'Calla had beaten Mr. Kneeland off from the strong delusion of universalism, and that he wished to wait on Mr. Mitchell in New York for the purpose of publicly refuting him, and of convincing his congregation. When this letter was read in Hartford, I told Mr. Mitchell that, it confirmed me in the opinion to which I was inclined on reading this clergyman's challenges, which were addressed to Mr. Kneeland in Philadelphia; which was, that from some cause, the man was not exactly in his right mind. I think Mr. Mitchell and others, of good judgment, agreed with me on this subject.

The evening that I arrived in Boston, I received the following letter, which sufficiently corroborates the opinion which I had before formed, of Mr. M'Calla's misfortune.

LETTER.

Philadelphia, August 13, 1824.

REV. SIR,

I have recently had a debate in public with Rev. Abner Kneeland, and as the public generally have concluded, have completely beaten my opponent. I am now desirous, sir, of break-

ing a lance with you upon some other tenet of the Universalists, such as may mutually be agreed upon, and should like to commence the same in some public place in your City, either your house of worship or some City hall as soon as possible.— Will you, sir, favor me with an early reply to this, directed to No. 69, North Third street. For my character as a man of learning, I refer you to Rev. Dr. Wilson, and Rev. Dr. Ely, whose sanction in the present challenge has been obtained in writing.

W. L. M'CALLA.

REMARKS.

The reason why I publish this letter and give the foregoing information is, by no means, to injure Mr. M'Calla, but to prevent, what I am very confident would be attempted, if this public notice was not given; viz. insinuations that Mr. Mitchell of New York, and Mr. Ballou of Boston, have neither of them confidence or courage to meet this man in public debate, respecting the doctrine of universal salvation.

If Mr. M'Calla was perfectly sane, he would know, that if he had beaten Mr. Kneeland, in such a way as to do any good, Mr. Kneeland or his friends, or both, would acknowledge it; for what good does it do to refute one in error, unless he, by some means, can find it out? But, if he really believes that he has convinced the Universalists of Philadelphia, that the doctrine of endless punishment is a doctrine of divine revelation; if he had his reason, would he not know that there is no need of any further public dispute, but that to publish these convincing arguments, which have settled the great question in Philadelphia, would silence universalism where ever they should be read? But he wishes to dispute with me on some other tenet of universalism; as if after he had disproved the doctrine in the gross, it becomes necessary to refute it by taking its items in detail!

But after all, if I have not judged correctly, and Mr. M'Calla is just what he thinks he is; and if the Rev. Doctors, to whom he refers are in earnest and acting understandingly in this matter, then I would say, let them accompany their champion to Boston and stand by him while he shall publicly refute the doctrine of God's universal, impartial goodness, and prove that the God of all grace is unmercifully cruel, and I will engage, when all this is done, to give up my hope in divine mercy, and join these Rev. divines in the doctrine of despair. But before this, I promise to use my feeble powers to the utmost in defence of the gospel.

HOSEA BALLOU.

No. 14.

September the 1st, Mr. Kneeland published the following.

FROM THE FRANKLIN GAZETTE.

TO MR. HOSEA BALLOU, OF BOSTON.

SIR.—I have just seen a publication in “the Universalist Magazine” of your city, for August 28, 1824, over your name, in which you give a letter, purporting to be from the Rev. W. L. M’CALLA. That letter makes Mr. M’CALLA say, “for my character as a man of learning, I refer you to the Rev. Dr. WILSON and the Rev. Dr. ELY, whose sanction in the present challenge has been obtained in writing.” I have no question but that you received from *somebody* the letter which you have published; but I am fully convinced that Mr. M’CALLA is a man of sound mind and unblemished integrity, and that he never wrote, indited, or addressed one line on any subject to you, or to Mr. MITCHELL of New York, in his life. One thing I can positively affirm, that he never consulted me about challenging any man, to any sort of contest, nor did I ever give any sanction, by writing or otherwise, to his challenging any one. Some person has put into the pretended letter of Mr. M’CALLA an absolute and infamous lie.

EZRA STILES ELY.

Philadelphia, August 30, 1824.

I suspected that the letters above alluded to might be a forgery, on my first seeing the one to Mr. B. though I am not fully convinced that they are so. What created my suspicion was the respectful appellation “Reverend,” prefixed to the names of Mr. Ballou and myself. I should be able, however, to detect the forgery, if it be one, could I but see the original letters. In all his correspondence with me, Mr. M’C. never wrote any thing more than his name, which is very peculiar, and I think I should know it among five hundred. He told me, in the presence of several others, that he was so nervous he could not write. Dr. Ely says, “I am fully convinced that Mr. M’CALLA is a man of sound mind and unblemished integrity.” How could a man of sound mind denounce a discussion as being altogether spurious, to which the testimony of hundreds could be obtained (if it were necessary) of its being as faithful a report as ever was made; so faithful that no one has yet been able to point out a single error affecting the arguments on either side? If he were of a sound mind, how could he say that he was denied the privilege of the house any longer, when Dr. E. knows himself to the contrary?—or, how could he say that I had sent him the first number of the discussion, and requested him to point out the errors, if there were any, when I had neither done the one nor the other? and when the very number contained on its cover a let-

ter from Mr. Jennings, the Stenographer[™] and publisher of the work, addressed to both him and me, (as well as to Dr. Ely and the other Moderators,) requesting the same thing which was imputed to me? If Dr. Ely can reconcile all this with the gentleman of a sound mind, so be it.—Then to what motive will he impute these facts, which must stare him in the face?

A. KNEELAND.

No. 15.

PHILADELPHIA.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, Sept. 8, 1824.

TO EZRA STILES ELY, D. D.

Reverend Sir,

You are hereby respectfully requested to furnish the public with the evidence by which you were “fully convinced” that Mr. M^cCalla is a man of sound mind and unblemished integrity, and that he never wrote, indited, or addressed one line on any subject to [Mr. BALLOU, of Boston,] or to Mr. MITCHELL, of New York, in his life.” We sometimes *presume* without any other evidence than that which the nature of the case affords: but to *presume* is one thing, and to *be convinced* is another, and a very different thing. You might presume it, because, as you say, the letter to Mr. Ballou contains “an absolute and infamous lie!” but by what evidence were you “convinced” that Mr. M^cC. did not sign the letter which contains it? He has not disavowed it as yet, as I can learn, and if he had not “addressed” such a letter, would he not have been as prompt in disavowing it, as Dr. E. has been in disavowing the *lie* it contains. *Presuming*, therefore, that you possess the evidence which “fully convinced” you of the truth of the statement contained in your letter to Mr. Ballou of the 30th ultimo, in justice to Mr. M^cCalla, as well as all concerned, I repeat the request that this evidence should be given to the public.

Your’s, respectfully,

ABNER KNEELAND.

Philadelphia, Sept. 8, 1824.

To the Rev. EDWARD MITCHELL, of New York, and the Rev. HOSEA BALLOU, of Boston.

Reverend Gentlemen,

As the Rev. Dr. Ely “is fully convinced that Mr. M^cCalla never wrote, or addressed” either of you, “on any subject,” (and of course considers the letters which you have received [bearing his name] a *forgery*,) if you should be convinced, from the statement in the last number of the Gazetteer, that those

were not signed by the person whose name they bear, please to publish the evidence by which you are thus convinced, in the Gospel Herald, and Universalist Magazine, respectively; but if the fact should be otherwise, and you still suspect that they were signed by Mr. M^cCalla, be so good as to send the original letters, enclosed by mail, to the Editor of the Gazetteer, that the *fact* concerning them may be known.

A. K.

No. 16.

FROM THE FRANKLIN GAZETTE. OF SEPT. 9TH.

DEBATE ON UNIVERSALISM.

The Universalist Magazine of August 28, was lately sent to me from Boston, by some one who rightly supposed that such a favor would be a gratification. It contains a publication of Mr. Hosea Ballou concerning certain letters, purporting to have been written by me to him, and to Mr. Mitchell of New York. Of the former he has given us a copy, and the latter appears to have been "read in Hartford," Connecticut, for the edification of the "faithful brethren," then encamped in that memorable city. As it was a challenge to a polemical encounter, they seem, from Mr. Ballou's account, to have called a council of war, composed of himself, "Mr. Mitchell, and others of good judgment" in such matters. The subject of deliberation was momentous, and much depended upon the course which they might adopt. To fight, or not to fight; that was the question. Mr. Ballou was not so presumptuous as to attempt doing perfect justice to the talents displayed in this illustrious conclave. This work should belong to none but that genius, who has celebrated, in imperishable lines, the grand Universalist Council which met before the fall of Adam. None but Milton should attempt to say or sing the wisdom displayed on this important occasion, by the *faithful brethren*, Mr. Ballou, "Mr. Mitchell, and others of good judgment," in this Universalist Hartford convention!

For these *faithfuls* to resist the daring assault of this *infidel* invader, required much greater resources than Patrick Henry believed necessary to a successful revolt of the colonies. No wonder, then, that these choice spirits did not, like the Virginia senate, unfurl the banners of war. The lion of their forest had been bearded in his own den; or, to speak more plainly, their controversial champion had been publicly refuted in his "own desk." After having lived by challenging for many years, he was at last met so successfully that he showed his antagonist the door before his argument was closed, and has ever since refused to meet him again. When the man of Gath has fallen, who can censure his *faithful brethren* of Askelon for turning their backs?

Notwithstanding my indulgent disposition, the council have, through their spokesman, expressed an apprehension that I would publish uncharitable "*insinuations that Mr. Mitchell of New York, and Mr. Ballou of Boston, have neither of them confidence or courage to meet this man in public debate respecting the doctrine of universal salvation.*" Without, therefore, recurring to the trite excuse of Hudibras for their flight, they exerted all their powers in manufacturing a feasible apology. The challenge of this monster gave him, in their eyes, a distracted and hostile aspect, much more unequivocal than that of the great wooden horse before the walls of Troy. This did not prove that he had come from the moon; but, in their opinion, such enmity to Universalism proved that his understanding was under the influence of that planet.

Christians fight with spiritual weapons. As Unitarians, Universalists, and false professors do not covet spiritual gifts, they have generally, and in some cases successfully, adopted the plan of impeaching the intellectual character of those who stand in their way. This is usually accompanied with professions of disinterestedness, and often with compliments to the moral excellence of the intended victim. Mr. Ballou says, "the reason why I publish this letter, and give the foregoing information, is by no means to injure Mr. M-Calla." Messrs. Ballou and Kneeland endeavour to deceive their neighbours by insinuations against my character, and yet would be thought to do me no injury. "As a madman who casteth firebrands, arrows and death, so is the man that deceiveth his neighbour, and saith, am I not in sport?" When Solomon's madmen are reputed for integrity and worth, their firebrands and arrows are calculated to produce death. The reason why they are often harmless, when coming from such men as that brace of writers who have assailed me in Boston and Philadelphia, is, that in their case such insinuations are well known to be the dernier resort of disappointed ambition, error and imbecility.

Although the public were correctly informed on the 31st ultimo, that I "never wrote, indited or addressed one line on any subject" to Mr. Ballou of Boston, or to Mr. Mitchell of New York, in my life, Mr. Kneeland, with this declaration before him, republished Mr. Ballou's communication the next day, and accompanied it with approbatory remarks of his own. He condescends to acknowledge some internal evidence of forgery; but, under a pretence of great uncertainty, expresses a feeble wish to "see the original letters." As they have never yet saluted my eyes, I can join him in the wish. There is at present strong proof that their author is the same person to whom many similar epistles have been lately traced in this city. Let it be distinctly understood that this person is claimed by the Universalists.

Let Messrs. Ballou and Mitchell send his letters in company with a request for his name. Some of his letters were signed with the names of departed saints and sinners, male and female, and others with the names of living citizens of Philadelphia. The following brief specimen is inserted, omitting nothing but the address :

“DEAR SIR : The following is the best way to get a name to live according to the doctrine and Christian behaviour of M^cCalla, the fire and brimstone chaplain of bloody Jackson.

Learn three mile prayers and half mile graces,
With well spread hands and long wry faces ;
Gruat up a solemn lengthen'd groan,
And damn all parties but your own.
I'll warrant then y'e're no deceiver,
A steady, sturdy, staunch believer.

CALVIN, 1824.”

This universal letter writer was probably among those who thought that these eastern favorites would make a better defence of their cause than Mr. Kneeland had done, and therefore adopted a plan to which he was accustomed for bringing us together. He has only elicited from them an uncalled-for refusal to meet me. So true is it that “the wicked fleeth when no man pursueth.” Although when Providence calls, I am willing, in his strength, to encounter a ranging bear or a ravening wolf, I am not so fond of knight errantry as to go in search of such adventures. If these Hartford worthies or any one of them had published in my neighbourhood, as Mr. Kneeland did, that “he therefore, once more respectfully invites and entreats the clergy of other denominations, or some one of them, the more learned the better, to discuss this important subject with him,” I should have been as willing to accept their challenge as his. It would have savoured more of a *sound mind* if Mr. Ballou had postponed his publication until he could ascertain that I had really sent him a private invitation, or until I had issued some general challenge like that of Mr. Kneeland. But if I had been madman enough to blow such a trumpet of defiance as he has done, I hope that I should not, like him, be so *unsound* as to deny it afterwards.

In the paper in which Mr. Kneeland has copied Mr. Ballou's communication, he has also devoted more than one whole page to a publication of Mr. Morse, his moderator in our debate, against the Rev. J. M. for having advertised, as he insinuates, that I would preach in his chapel “on Universalism.” As the notice was given after the debate, and in a presbyterian place of worship, every one would have expected, after such a notice, to hear a sermon *against* universalism, just as they would expect Mr. Morse to preach *against* presbyterianism, if they received notice from a universalist pulpit that he would preach *on* that subject; and just as Blair's sermon *on* intemperance is known

by every one to be *against* that vice. Yet this universalist grammarian is prepared to prove that nothing less than insincerity or insanity could have induced Blair, that unparalleled rhetorician, to say that he preached *on* intemperance when he preached *against* it. The privilege which Mr. Morse has enjoyed, in the instructions of so great a linguist and translator as Mr. Kneeland, may be in some measure estimated by his own words in the following extracts: viz. "When you gave the notice of his meeting, were you not sensible at the time, that he [Mr. M'Calla] intended preaching *against* universalism, and not *on* that doctrine; which last expression, according to common usage, necessarily presupposes he did intend preaching *in favour of*, and not *against*, universalism?" "Preaching *on* a doctrine is what signifies, agreeably to universal [he ought to have said *universalist*] custom, an intention to advocate or endeavor to support such doctrine, whatever that doctrine may be!" These extracts speak for themselves. It only remains for me to request Messrs Balleu, "Mitchell and others of good judgment," that when they hold their next inquest over subjects of delirium, they would examine the intellectual condition of these *faithful brethren*, one of whom has written, and the other countenanced and published, such an unmerciful assault upon the English language and common sense.

Mr. Kneeland, apprehensive of the doctrine of his universalist letter-writer, founds his impeachment of my understanding upon three new allegations, all of which have no bearing at all, except against my veracity: and if a violation of truth will constitute a madman, our public hospitals must be greatly enlarged, or the *faithful brethren of good judgment* will have to build asylums for themselves. To prove this we need not go one step farther than Mr. Kneeland's first interrogative allegation. It is as follows: "How could a man of sound mind denounce a discussion as being altogether spurious, to which the testimony of hundreds could be obtained, if it were necessary, of its being as faithful a report *as ever was made*; so faithful that no one has yet been able to point out a single error affecting the arguments on either side?" Mark the language of Mr. Kneeland and his hundreds of universalist witnesses: "As faithful a report *as ever was made*." Out of the millions of reports that ever were made, these persons have seen but a small number. *They* must be very willing and well trained witnesses, who will swear to what they know nothing about. Although they have never seen many more translations and grammars than reports, I have no doubt that they would be as ready to swear that Mr. Kneeland's is as faithful a translation *as ever was made*, and that Mr. Morse is as great a grammarian as Dr. Blair or any other man that *ever was made*. Let it be remembered also, that some reports

have been correct, and this one, Mr. Kneeland confesses, is, in the language, deficient in accuracy. It may be asked then, how could a man of veracity, or, to use his own phraseology, "how could a man of sound mind," attest, as he has done, that a record of a twenty hours debate, not written by himself, and confessedly inaccurate, is "as faithful a report as ever was made?" I do not inquire what judges and lawyers will say to such testimony: I ask what man on earth, but a lunatic, would believe such a witness? It is no wonder that they are rejected by our courts of justice, for they have not the fear of God before their eyes. But notwithstanding the hundreds that he pretends would come at his bidding, I do not believe that he can find one witness who will give such testimony, except Messrs. Jennings, Kneeland and Morse. As to the latter character, we have already given his criticism upon an alleged notice of the Rev. J. M. that I was to preach "on Universalism." This was published to convict Mr. M. of deception. What shall we think of the veracity of that man who can do this, after he knew that it was a notorious and well attested *fact* that on the occasion referred to, Mr. M. did not leave the people in doubt, but stated at large that I was to "answer Mr. Morse's sermon, delivered on the Friday evening previous, in favour of Universal salvation?" This will appear by the following certificate.

"On the sabbath evening the 1st instant when John Magoffin notified the congregation at Union Chapel, that Mr. M'Calla would preach there on the following Thursday evening, he stated that Mr. M'Calla would then answer Mr. Morse's sermon, delivered on the Friday evening previous, in favour of universal salvation; and he then stated some erroneous sentiments taught in his books by Mr. Kneeland, such as this, that God was the author of sin; and said that Mr. Kneeland founded his sentiment of universal salvation on this notion; but he held no book or paper in his hand from which he quoted nor did he say that he then used Mr. Kneeland's own words.

Chesnut Hill, 13th August, 1824.

Christopher Yeakle,	George Rex.
Jacob Lentz	Jacob Dutwaler,
Jacob Lentz, Jr.	Henry Cress,
William Smith,	Jacob Waas,
Jacob Cress,	Francis Markoe.

The above include the signatures of the most respectable men on Chesnut-hill, and of a lay elder of this city, well known for education, piety and good sense.

Mr. Kneeland's lumping attestation of the voluminous report of his promising disciple, who, it seems, has now become an Universalist preacher, so abundantly illustrates the texture of his

conscience, that I would gladly dispense with every comment upon his *moral* sanity not imperiously called for by his own publications. These have given to the otherwise insignificant question, "who sent the challenge?" an adventitious importance. If God has graciously enabled me to receive, profess and defend an essential doctrine of christianity, I care not much to whose invitation the controversy owes its birth. I have said that he gave the first request in his printed lectures. He considers this declaration as not only evidence of moral guilt, but it is the second of his three new proofs of an unsound mind! It is not such desperate idiotisms as this that have given to the question its artificial importance.—It is his publishing to the world an acknowledgement of the fact as coming from me; which acknowledgement has that identical evidence of forgery, which Mr. Kneeland himself has discovered in the letter to Boston. This conduct was in my eye, when, in a letter to him of the 22d ultimo, I promised a further comment upon his views of christian practice. A few days before the debate, the parties, at Mr. Kneeland's house, agreed to a written notification of the meeting, for insertion in some public paper. As Mr. Kneeland was acquainted with the presses of the city, our joint advertisement was left in his hands. I did not suppose that Universalism had so far affected his understanding as to make him alter such an instrument, when exposure was the certain consequence. Yet, without my privity or authority, he did add to it the following sentence: viz. "This discussion was first proposed on the part of Mr. M'Calla, and accepted by Mr. Kneeland." To save me the trouble of noticing this conduct in the papers, I requested Mr. Kneeland to correct his own error, and inform the public that this declaration was added upon his sole responsibility. He promised to do so. His failure in the performance of this promise adds to the guilt of the original transgression.

Although this article was understood to be by consent, yet as we had neglected to sign it, it did not fully answer Mr. Kneeland's purpose. He therefore took our rules of conference, an instrument which we *had* signed, and this infatuated man deliberately prefixed to them a similar declaration, in such a manner, that on the face of the paper, as published in the Saturday Evening Post of July 10, this manufactured preamble of his appears as manifestly to be signed by me, as the title of the rules, or any article which they contain. To show this, we here insert the publication in its primitive beauty, with Mr. Kneeland's unauthorized introduction, enclosed in brackets.

“[PUBLIC THEOLOGICAL DISCUSSION.

“After the interchange of two letters on each side, the first of which, dated July 2d, coming from the Reverend Mr. M'Calla,

and proposing a public debate which, being accepted by the Reverend Mr. Kneeland, led to a meeting of the parties, when the following articles were mutually agreed upon.]”

Rules of Conference adopted and signed this eighth day of July, 1824, in the city of Philadelphia, by Abner Kneeland and W. L. McCalla. (Duplicates given to the parties.)

1. The proposition for discussion shall be as follows, viz. Is the punishment of the wicked absolutely eternal? or is it only a temporal punishment in this world, for their good, and to be succeeded by eternal happiness after death?

2. Each speaker shall be entitled to an alternate address of thirty minutes, unless the other party waive his right.

3. The discussion to be moderated by three men, each of the parties choosing one, and these two a third, who shall be considered the president of the bench.

4. The discussion shall (God willing) commence on the 13th instant, at half past nine o'clock A. M. and continue, if necessary, until noon. It shall, if necessary, be resumed at four o'clock, and continue until half past six P. M. and continue from day to day until both parties shall be satisfied.

5. The debate shall be opened and closed by one party in the forenoon and another in the afternoon, and in case of a continuance, the party who relinquishes this privilege in the morning of the first day, shall, if requiring it, enjoy it on the morning of the second; and so on.

6. The conference to be held at the Universalist Church in Lombard street, and adjourned if necessary by mutual consent to some other suitable place.”

W. L. M'CALLA,
ABNER KNEELAND.”

Without taking time to dwell upon the features of Mr. Morse's grammatical preceptor as reflected in the composition of the above preamble, it may be safely observed that a man, who has, without authority, written over my name, a declaration which is no less untrue than ungrammatical, is capable of writing challenges in my name to Mr. Ballou of Boston, to Mr. Mitchell of New York, to Mr. Kneeland of Philadelphia, or to any Universalist bedlamite whose “good judgment” the “faithful brethren” may celebrate.

W. L. M'CALLA.

No. 17.

FROM THE FRANKLIN GAZETTE, OF SEPT. 11TH.

TO W. L. M'CALLA.

In yesterday's paper I observed three columns therein occupied with your signature placed at the bottom. In that communication, you appear to be wrangling, with your accustomed

expertness, with at least five different individuals, some of whom you have never yet seen! Permit me to ask you, sir, what all this is for? Is it because you had proved all or any of them to be dishonest or unchristian in any thing which they, or any one of them, have said or done? Or is the whole of that rancorous spirit which your communication breathes throughout against those individuals to be attributed to your hatred of universalism, united with your inordinate love of the doctrine of never-ceasing damnation, not for yourself, but perhaps for your "father, brother or wife?" Is all the litigiousness with which your writing is graced to be accounted for from your fondness to believe that *that* God who created *all* will consign a *part* to a quenchless burning hell? Let me ask, in my turn, what shall *we* think of that man who can call Mr. Ballou's acceptance of what he supposed at the time was a challenge from you "an uncalled for refusal to meet me," when Mr. Ballou in his remarks explicitly says: "But before this, (i. e.) before I join these Reverend divines in the doctrine of despair, I promise to use my feeble powers to the utmost in defence of the Gospel?" The refusal of Mr. Ballou to meet Mr. M'Calla is not unlike what has more than once been called a refusal of the church in Lombard-street to continue the debate, when Mr. M'Calla as well knew he could have had the house longer, as he and others knew, that the weapons used by him against his opponent were, before the close of the discussion, becoming *very few and feeble*. Again, let me ask, what shall *we* think of that man, who, making Mr. M'Calla his conservator, draws up a paper, and after stating therein, designing to express Mr. Kneeland's sentiments, "God was the author of sin;" said that Mr. Kneeland founded his sentiment of universal salvation on this notion," instead of saying, as he ought to have said, in order to be consistent with himself and his former statement, Mr. Kneeland has written in a pamphlet thus: "God is the author of sin, and therefore will not punish it?" Will Mr. Magoffin be able to get the names of ten respectable men attached to a paper, wherein it shall be stated, that he never used the last quoted sentence as coming from Mr. Kneeland, or as exactly expressive of what Universalists believe! Let it be remembered by the opposers of Universalism that "the way of the transgressor is hard," and that no sinner has a right to expect, that he shall go unpunished for his sins. Let Mr. Magoffin and the *eminent philologist* who wrote in yesterday's Gazette turn their thoughts *within*; view their *studied policy* in their recent proceedings in relation to Universalists, not forgetting the *beautiful* allusions which the last has made concerning Hudibras, the wooden horse of Troy, the Universalist bedlamite; or they may with equal propriety bear in mind the conduct of any Presbyterian bedlamite, who hereafter wishes to employ Mr. M'Calla as a champion.

WILLIAM MORSE.

Philadelphia, Sept. 10, 1824.

TO MR. ABNER KNEELAND.

SIR : In answer to your letter of the 8th instant, addressed to me on the subject of my note to Mr. Ballou, I would state, that I was *fully convinced* that Mr. M'Calla never, at any time in his life, wrote, indited, or addressed one line on any subject, to either Mr. Ballou of Boston, or Mr. Mitchell of New York, by the simple declaration of Mr. M'Calla himself. *His word* concerning any fact to which he would testify, is sufficient ground for confidence to all who have any intimate acquaintance with him. I have been acquainted with him for several years, and could certify, were it needful, that he is a minister in the Presbyterian church, in good and regular standing with his brethren, and highly esteemed for his honesty, eloquence, talents, and piety, by thousands in our ecclesiastical communion. His veracity, so far as I know, was never questioned by any before he commenced a correspondence with you; and since, none doubt it but a few who believe in the universal salvation of mankind. These *seem to me* to doubt the veracity of God, and to believe in the veracity of "the father of lies," who said, "ye shall not surely die;" so that it is no wonder if they should call Mr. M'Calla "a liar."

The evidence which *fully convinced* and still convinces me of his soundness of mind, is presented to me by my *ears*, when I hear him speak on any subject, for he talks like a man of good sense; and by my *eyes*, when I read any of his writings.

His debate with yourself *CONVINCED ME* that he is "a man of sound mind," and I think came near to convincing your judgment, sorely against your will, that he is a champion for what the greater part of the christian world calls orthodoxy, of extraordinary polemical abilities and prowess. If he did not conquer you, at least *you* will admit, that a man of *no mean powers of mind* could not put him to flight in a contest of four days. In short, by the same kind of *evidence* which convinces me that Mr. Kneeland is not insane, but has a sound understanding, and other mental faculties, which I deem nearly as much perverted as those of Milton's devil, I am now *convinced* that Mr. M'Calla, in native energy of mind, in soundness of judgment, clearness of apprehension, accuracy of reasoning, rectitude of conscience, benevolence of heart, and even in the knowledge of *Hebrew and Grecian literature*, is every way Mr. Kneeland's superior.

Mr. M'Calla's letters to yourself since the debate have not failed to convince thousands who have read them with delight, that you have no need to desire a controvertist of *souder* intellect.

EZRA STILES ELY.

Philadelphia, September 11, 1824.

TO MR. EZRA STILES ELY.

SIR—If, in reply to your note of the 11th instant, I do not use all that mildness to which I am accustomed, and which it is always a pleasure to me to observe, unless prevented by a sense of justice to myself, you well know the example I follow, with which you cannot be displeased, since it comes from yourself.

In answer to my note, you say, "I was *fully convinced*, &c." This, sir, you informed the public before, the truth of which I did not call in question; it was therefore unnecessary to repeat it: the subject of my inquiry was the *evidence* by which you were so convinced, and which you had not given to the public. You now say, "*his* [Mr. M'Calla's] *word* is sufficient ground of confidence, &c." If, sir, the public had been informed that you had the "*word*" of Mr. M'Calla as your authority for the truth of what you stated, and which no one could positively know except Mr. M'Calla himself, I should never have troubled you on this subject. Or if Mr. M'Calla had been as prompt in discovering the letter published by Mr. Ballou, as you were in disavowing the false statements which it contained in relation to yourself and Dr. Wilson, the public would have been set right at once, which would have prevented any groundless suspicions. Mr. Ballou, however, had every reason to suppose the letter genuine, and therefore treated it as such; and I do not see how the public could be *fully convinced* to the contrary, until it was discovered by the man whose name it bears. I have now in my possession one of the letters in question, and am thereby fully convinced that no part is in the hand-writing of Mr. M'Calla.

It gives me pleasure also to find that Mr. M'Calla stands so high among the clergy as a man of "honesty, eloquence, talents and piety by thousands in our [Presbyterian] ecclesiastical communion;" for all this adds weight to the importance of the late discussion; and I still hope that nothing will occur to lessen him in your estimation; but that you will still consider him "a champion for what the greater part of the Christian world calls orthodoxy." That he has "*extraordinary* polemical abilities and prowess," I believe will not be doubted by any who heard, or who shall read the discussion.

But, sir, after all, notwithstanding this high opinion of your friend Mr. M'Calla, you have not had the hardihood to deny that he has made the incorrect statements with which he is charged; neither have you attempted to reconcile the making of those erroneous statements with the possession, at the same time, of a sound mind. He stated, during the discussion, that I had written and

published a Greek Grammar, which is totally incorrect; that he was denied the use of the church in Lombard-street any longer, which is equally untrue; which statement he has repeated several times since, though it has been as often contradicted; and he has given no evidence whatever of its truth. He has also stated since the discussion that I have refused to meet him again; that I sent him the first number of the minutes of the discussion, and requested him to point out the errors if there were any; with several other statements, which I could name if I were disposed to multiply them, not one of which is correct. And, after all, I am not disposed to "call Mr. M'Calla 'a liar,'" though you quoted those words, "a liar!" thereby insinuating that he had been so called by "a few who believe in the "universal salvation of mankind," among whom you undoubtedly meant to include me! Such insinuations, without proof, more than to say, "these SEEM to me, &c." I consider far beneath the dignity of either the *gentleman* or the *christian*. It is more charitable to impute such intemperate language as that which has been used by Mr. M'Calla, and his vindicator, to a disturbed imagination, or a disordered brain, than it is to say that it proceeds from a worse motive. To say that such language proceeds from a mind that is "sound," is only to acknowledge, in other words, that it comes from a heart "desperately wicked."

I challenge you, sir, to show the least evidence that Universalists "doubt the veracity of God!" And what evidence can you give why it should so "SEEM" to you other than the evil surmising of your own heart? By what evidence does it "SEEM to you" that Universalists "believe in the veracity of the father of lies, who said, 'ye shall not surely die?'" I know of no Universalist but what believes that Adam did die the very death threatened, and that too "in the day" of his transgression. But those who believe that God threatened all mankind with *eternal death*, and then saves some of them from it; what do they but "doubt the veracity of God," and "believe in the veracity of the serpent, who said to our mother Eve, who, no doubt, was one of the elect, and who now says to all the elect, 'ye shall not surely die?'" Unless all mankind die the death threatened as a consequence of sin, how can you vindicate the testimony of God, or prove that the testimony of the serpent was false?

If some of these remarks should be rather "highly seasoned," so as to make your "lips smack,"* how could you expect any thing better from "Milton's devil?"

As to my *inferiority*, in every thing that is either *learned*, good or amiable, to Mr. M'Calla, in the opinion of one who supposes my "understanding and other mental faculties" so much "perverted," as the writer of the letter which I am now answering, it

* See your notice in the public papers of Mr. Brownlee's work against the Quakers, previous to its publication.

gives me no uneasiness whatever; because, in the mind of the man with whom Mr. M'Calla stands so very *high*, I may be *inferior*, and yet not be very *low*.

I am glad that Mr. M'Calla's letters to me have been read by "thousands," with so much "delight." I hope they will also be willing to read the discussion.

ABNER KNEELAND.

Philadelphia, Sept. 13th, 1824.

No. 20.

There was in the Democratic Press of Sept. 10th, 13th and 15th, a contest between Mr. Jennings and an anonymous writer by the name of Justice, in which the latter convicted the former of corruption in his report of the debate. He also produced evidence, both internal and external, that the report was under the management of Mr. Kneeland. Mr. Jennings denied that the book was written at Mr. Kneeland's house, but confessed that it was sold there, because it was a more central situation than his own! He confessed that he knew not even the letters of the sacred languages, but denied that Mr. Kneeland, or any body else aided him in writing his critical notes on these languages, except his "theologian" at his "elbow, which by the bye, is a little family dog." These are his own words. In the same paper, and in the Franklin Gazette, there was a controversy between Mr. Magoffin and Mr. Morse, in which the former convicted the latter of falsehood in repeated instances. Mr. Morse hints very strong suspicions that his antagonist obtained assistance from me in writing. This report which is utterly destitute of truth, he appears to have invented as an excuse for obtaining such assistance himself. His first and second pieces against Mr. Magoffin could not have been written by the same hand, and we shall soon see that the same remark is applicable to his first and second pieces against me in Nos. 17 and 24.

No. 21.

FROM THE DEMOCRATIC PRESS, OF SEPT. 22d.

DEBATE ON UNIVERSALISM.

Just published and now for sale, in four numbers, at 25 cents each, "Minutes of a Discussion of the Universalist Question, between Mr. Abner Kneeland and Dr. E. S. Ely, conducted in the Universalist Synagogue in Lombard street, Philadelphia, July 13 to 17, 1824. Taken in short-hand, by R. L. Long-hand."

This debate originated in the following challenge of Mr. Kneeland to Dr. Ely, as published in the Franklin Gazette of the 15th inst.* viz : "I challenge you, Sir, to shew, the least evidence that Universalists *doubt the veracity of God*," &c.

As it is probable that Dr. Ely, like a petulant friend of his, will say that this is a spurious report, seeing that the debate has never yet taken place, I would ask that gentleman what advantage there is in waiting? Does he expect that I could give the public a more faithful transcript of his language, sentiments and method after hearing him than before? A little experience would teach him better. One fact is better than a thousand theories; and it is a fact that cousin R. L. Short-hand was lately present at a debate, and he has ascribed to one of the parties, if my information be correct, language which he never uttered, and sentiments which he never believed. All that can be asked of a Reporter is that he shall do justice to the argument; and this can be done as well before the debate as afterward.

My opportunities of doing justice to Mr. Kneeland's argument are peculiarly happy, since every word in this report of mine is copied from a book lately published by my cousin R. L. Jennings, now a Universalist Preacher. This book Mr. Kneeland says is "as faithful a report as ever was made," and will therefore enable me to shew his strength to great advantage.

The whole work is hereby "submitted to the respective parties and the moderators for their inspection." They are hereby requested to note any errors that they may observe "affecting the argument on either side." "Should no errors be pointed out by [them] notwithstanding this request, it will be considered an acknowledgment of the correctness of the work, and it will be recommended to the public accordingly."

As I, in company with my cousin, R. L. Jennings, would be glad of "a more central situation than my own to dispose of the work," he would oblige me by permitting his brother "who stays at Mr. Kneeland's through the day," for the sale of his books, to sell mine also. Mr. Kneeland also would confer a favour by taking my books through the streets under his arm, along with cousin R. L. Short-hand's productions. By this, however, I would not have the public to understand that Mr. Kneeland has any thing to do in my publication. I solemnly declare upon the veracity of a Universalist Preacher, that I have no connexion with that gentleman; no, not even so far as to have cousin R. L. Jennings' "little family dog" "at my elbow."

Without detaining the reader farther than to observe that the purchase of one number is an engagement for the whole work, I proceed now to the discussion.

No. 1.

Tuesday, Forenoon—Dr. Ely opened by clearing away the rubbish.

* See No. 19.

Mr. Kneeland. He has his mind marked out in a particular track; for, having anticipated, as he supposed, the ground which would be occupied by his opponent, he had his matter ready cut and dried to meet him. Has he referred to a single passage in the scripture to support his side of the argument?

Afternoon.—Dr. Ely enters upon his proofs.

Mr. Kneeland. He seems indeed to avoid the proposition altogether. I had expected he would have brought forth his strongest arguments in support of his side of the question, but am sorry to find he has not produced a single one relative to the point in discussion.

No. 2.

Wednesday, Forenoon.—Dr. Ely advances in the argument.

Mr. Kneeland. Let him come to the question, and the moment he can prove his proposition true, that moment I give up the contest, and must submit. But as he has brought forward nothing for me to answer; nothing in support of his argument; I have nothing to refute. I do not know even how to consume my thirty minutes! [*Laugh.*] My opponent has charged me with challenging the world to a public discussion. This I positively deny.

Afternoon.—More proofs from Dr. Ely.

Mr. Kneeland. I ask what did we come here to do? Why collect this crowded and respectable audience together? Was it not to discuss the proposition read in your hearing? I have therefore urged him on his own account, and for the sake of this enquiring assembly, if he be able to handle his doctrine as he ought, that he do it at once; for as yet, he has not said one word about it. It is useless for him to take up your time, and to disappoint your expectations by talking about my opinions and the supposed inconsistencies of my writings; *for they have no bearing upon the point whatever!* It appears to me, and I think it must also appear to you, that my opponent had not only the outlines, but the very body of his argument prepared before he came to the controversy; for he is going straight on in his long story without taking notice of aught I say.

No. 3.

Thursday, Forenoon.—Dr. Ely goes straight on.

Mr. Kneeland. I feel anxious to consume my thirty minutes, but in truth; I know not what to say. I have so repeatedly called upon my opponent to come forward with his evidence, that I think there will be no necessity to call upon him again, if he has any to produce. He has certainly not produced any yet that I observed, and I pay all the attention to my opponent's arguments that they deserve, as I take minutes of every thing of importance which he advances connected with the subject, and yet I have observed nothing. It has been suggested to me this morning, as a report in circulation, and very generally received; that an im-

pression was made upon the audience assembled here yesterday afternoon, very much in favour of my opponent, and that his cause was rising. If it be so I am truly glad of it ! There is no person present to whom such a report affords more satisfaction than to your speaker; for, to it, in a great measure, may be attributed your being drawn together this morning in increased numbers. I am also glad that his cause is rising in your minds, because the more powerful impression he now makes on you, respecting the truth of his doctrine, the greater will be his defeat if he should fail to prove it. I am sorry that truth constrains me to declare, I have met with more powerful evidence, brought in favour of eternal misery, by lay-men, even by apprentice boys, at the Commissioner's Hall in the Northern Liberties, than I have heard this morning from my opponent. I feel sorry that a reverend gentleman should have come all the way from —— to teach the citizens of Philadelphia theology, without being possessed of abilities better adapted to the task.

Afternoon.—The Doctor's evidence increases in strength.

Mr. Kneeland. Has he proved his part of the proposition ? Has he met me on the point which was to decide it ? No. he has not. And is it because he has evaded it, and has tried to lead you away from it, that his cause is rising ? Does his cause yet rise ? Does it yet make the shining faces as I understand so many of his friends had this morning ? *After a short lucid interval Mr. Kneeland observed* My hearers must perceive the reason why I go into this extraneous matter.—What shall I do ?—Say nothing ? If my opponent will give me any thing better to talk about, I will not wander.

No. 4.

Friday, Forenoon. Dr. Fly still strengthens his proofs.

Mr. Kneeland. As my opponent has given me nothing new to reply to, I have nothing of course to say in answer. Is the cause of my opponent still rising. Has he gained such a wonderful victory ? The nearer a man approaches to the brink of a steep precipice the greater is the danger of his falling over. Has it not been so with my opponent ? He would have drawn back, but I was too close behind him.

Afternoon. Mr. Kneeland. While I am speaking he is reading his little book, without attending to the arguments I may offer against his doctrine. My opponent has once more turned to his little book, and of this I am glad, for he has really entertained you better with what he has read therefrom, than he did in his former address. This is no discussion—this is continued reading straight forward on his part, and incessant entreaties on mine, to bring him to the point in dispute.

Dr. Ely being informed by Mr. Kneeland that the house might not be had any longer, closed.

Hearing that cousin R. L. Jennings had found dull sale for his work in 6 numbers, I thought it safer to divide mine into 4. If, however, it should meet with due encouragement, it is my intention to add two more numbers to the second edition. The 5th to contain cousin Jennings's first great effort after his ordination to the ministry in the Universalist Synagogue. It is his essay on *little family dogs*, published in the Democratic Press of the 13th inst.* It is said that Homer wrote *first* the wars of the frogs and then the war of Troy. There is no telling what our cousin may yet come to. He has already made such proficiency in the dead languages, that he thinks himself able "to compare the letters which are used to form one word with the letters that are used to form another, and if they do not agree, to alter them." At least, he thinks, "it is probable the writer, [that is, Cousin Jennings,] could do this much himself, were he to attempt it!" This is as much as to say that he has not yet attempted it. What then must we think of that genius who can consult Hebrew and Greek Lexicons and Concordances, and write critical notes on the sacred languages, when he has never yet *attempted* to learn their alphabets, and when he has no other created assistance than a *little family dog at his elbow*. If he had a great butcher's dog or a pack of hounds there, he would be equal to a man of *sound mind*, who said a few years ago, that he could speak all the languages spoken in Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost.

The 6th number will be devoted to a couple of lectures written by brother Morse on the philosophy of language. In the first of them he will prove that when a preacher professes to write on Universalism, a lawyer on Forgery, or a physician on Insanity, they must write in favour of these things, or be guilty of deception.† To this will be appended a few remarks of brother Kneeland's last letter to Dr. Ely,‡ shewing that it is more charitable to attribute the use of such language "to a disturbed imagination or a disordered brain, than it is to say that it proceeds from a worse motive!" The second lecture will be on the subject of controversial etiquette; in which brother Morse will prove, according to the doctrine of his letter of the 10th inst.§ that for an orthodox minister to route five Universalist assailants at once, is as indecorous as the conduct of that revolutionary American who surrounded seven British soldiers.

Before taking leave of the public, I wish them to remember that the above report of Mr. Kneeland's defence of Universalism is in his own words, as approved by himself, without either alteration in language or injustice to argument. There is only a little liberty taken in an arbitrary arrangement of his expressions; in which however, I have been very modest, in comparison

*See No. 20. †See No. 16. ‡See No. 19. §See No. 17.

with my cousin R. L. Short-hand, in the liberties which he has taken, in suppressing and inventing, culling and collecting, altering and arranging the expressions of Mr. Kneeland's antagonist.

R. L. LONGHAND.

Philadelphia, Sept. 17, 1824.

No. 22.

FROM THE FRANKLIN GAZETTE, OF OCT. 7.

DEBATE ON UNIVERSALISM.

TO MR. WILLIAM MORSE.

In the Franklin Gazette of the 11th of September, you have addressed a letter to me. It is not necessary for me to state my reasons for answering it so tardily, or for answering it at all. Although it may be dishonourable for the five persons of whom you speak, to make an unfair and unjust assault upon me, there is no reason to be ashamed that God has enabled me to make a successful resistance. "There is no restraint to the Lord to save by many or by few." The case would not be altered if you and your four brethren were multiplied by a hundred, each brandishing a forged letter in his hand; For Jehovah has promised his faithful servants, that one shall "chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight." Whenever five men or five hundred resort to personalities and pious frauds, men of sense will suspect that their cause is desperate. Mr. Kneeland consumed much of his tedious time during the debate in canvassing my personal character, and you and Mr. Ballou have since joined him in that important occupation in the public prints. If this were not intended to injure the truth, you might divide my reputation, as the Jews did my Master's garments, between you. It is with the greatest reluctance that I leave, for a moment, the real subject in controversy, to answer forgeries and fables, whether the old-wives who publish them be *male* or *female*, *five* or *fifty*.

Although you and your associates, in subserviency to the great accuser of the brethren, are engaged in the same work, you have different lists of charges. The sum of your several catalogues appears to be, that you accuse me of saying, during the debate, that Mr. Kneeland wrote and published a Greek grammar;—of saying, since the debate, that I was denied the continued use of the house;—that Mr. Kneeland has since refused to meet me;—that Mr. Ballou has, without my invitation, done the same;—that Mr. Kneeland sent me the first number of Mr. Jennings's report;—that he has a hand with him in that work;—and that it is a spurious production.

As the affair of the Greek grammar is mentioned in the re-

port, an examination of *its* genuineness will, if Providence permit, recall that subject on a future occasion. The refusal of the house until my argument was completed may now receive a partial attention. Mr. Kneeland has said in an article of the 1st of September, and afterwards in his letter to Dr. Ely of the 13th, that it is *untrue* that I "was denied the use of the church in Lombard-street any longer." In the former, he says that "Dr. Ely knows himself to the contrary;" and in the latter, that Dr. Ely has "not the hardihood to deny" this and similar accusations. Besides the notorious concurrence of the audience who attended the debate, in denying this charge, it is well known to you that Dr. Ely had denied it in that very letter which this of Mr. Kneeland professes to answer. As Dr. Ely was our moderator on the last day, he must have known whether I was denied the farther use of the house or not. If I was not refused this privilege, he must have known that my complaint of the house being denied was untrue, and that to acquit me of falsehood was becoming an accomplice in my crime. Yet in his letter to Mr. Kneeland of the 11th ultimo, he has not only acquitted me himself, but has declared that he believes my veracity to be unquestioned, not only among the hearers of our debate, but all others except a few Universalists. The following are his own words:

"His veracity, so far as I know, was never questioned by any before he commenced a correspondence with you; and since, none doubt it but a few who believe in the universal salvation of mankind. These *SEEM to me* to doubt the veracity of God, and to believe in the veracity of the 'father of lies,' who said 'ye shall not surely die;' so that it is no wonder if they should call Mr. M'Calla a *liar*."

This declaration of Dr. Ely is a denial of Mr. Kneeland's charge, and certainly attaches guilt to his subsequent assertion, that Dr. Ely had "not the hardihood to deny" a thing so notoriously incorrect.

In your letter you appear to think with some reason, that this subject may be illustrated by the case of Mr. Ballou, and the forged challenge which gave him such unnecessary alarm. Your words are, "the refusal of Mr. Ballou to meet Mr. M'Calla is not unlike what has more than once been called a refusal of the church in Lombard-street to continue the debate."

I confess they are alike in four particulars at least. 1. They are both well known matters of fact. 2. The same *moral infirmity* made Mr. Ballou refuse to commence a discussion, which made Mr. Kneeland refuse to continue it. 3. Both these facts have been alike denied by Mr. Morse. 4. They resemble each other in both being made occasions of a charge of untruth against an innocent person, which charge recoiled upon its guilty

fabricator. They are therefore almost as much alike as two peas, or as the two pillars of Haman's gallows, which hung the man who built them.

While noting resemblances, you might with safety have added to the list Mr. Kneeland's refusal to meet me again, since the debate was closed. The assertion of this fact he has impugned in his letter of the 13th ultimo. In his communication of the 3d of September to Mr. Binns, he says, "it will be perceived that I have offered to meet Mr. M'Calla again, or in other words have accepted his challenge, on condition that his friends will open one of their churches to accommodate the audience, as proof that they approve of his manner of conducting an argument, *together with some other conditions therein named*, not ONE of which has he complied with. Until therefore he shall comply with those conditions, *or others equally fair*, I have nothing more to say to him on the subject."

It is said that he has impressed some of his credulous followers with a belief, that a compliance on my part with ONE of his conditions such as finding a church, is all that he requires, to another meeting. In the above article, however, he refers to his letter of August 2d, published in the Franklin Gazette of Aug. 21st, and requires a compliance "with some other conditions therein named," such as uniting with him in religious worship and giving him my hand "in token of *friendship!*" that is, of *christian fellowship*, as he means. These conditions evidently require me to do what the church of Christ has never yet done; that is, to acknowledge the christianity of an Unitarian. They require me to violate a good conscience, and give up the point in dispute, before he will discuss it with me. What he means by other conditions "*equally fair*," I know not, unless he intends to require that in place of worshipping with him, his antagonist must be gagged, and that instead of giving him one hand, I must have both tied behind my back; for these conditions would be *equally fair* with those required in his letter. If I were to require as an indispensable condition to another meeting, that he should appear on the *arena* with a halter round his neck, every one would consider it a retreat from the conflict: so when he makes a *sine qua non* of a moral impossibility, it is a refusal to meet me. No man who was willing to submit his opinions to an investigation of this sort ever required such terms. Mr. Kneeland himself did not demand them until sore experience taught him to do so. His doing so, however, proves that while he boasts of success, he feels the realities of a defeat. His church was built for the spread of Universalism. He pretends that our debate promoted this end: yet the house cannot be obtained for me to finish my argument! He pretends that the discussion multiplied proselytes to Universalism, and greatly increased the sale of his books: yet we cannot have the house a

few days longer, least his books and his followers should multiply like the lice and the locusts of Egypt! A man whose conscience will permit him to speak and act so inconsistently, is not likely to be scrupulous about writing a false report, and afterwards denying it.

In Mr. Kneeland's article and letter of September 1st and 13th he charges me with saying that *he sent me the first number of this report*. I knew that Mr. Jennings had sent me the number; although I believed then, and believe now, that it was done with Mr. Kneeland's knowledge, and by his authority. I therefore stated in my letter to Mr. Norvell of August 10, 'that a *copy had been sent to each of the parties*.' This was accompanied with an intimation of the quarter from which it came, as in the following extract: "The first number of Mr. Kneeland's promised minutes of the discussion, *professing to be taken in short hand by one of his friends*, has made its appearance. If there were no danger of detection, it would be a tolerably good book for promoting the views of its author. He has informed the public that a copy *has been sent to each of the parties*." This is not saying that Mr. Kneeland sent the book, but "that a copy has been sent." The person who sent it is "its author. He has informed the public" of the fact. It has two authors; Mr. Kneeland, who promised the minutes, and Mr. Jennings, who professed to take them in short hand. I meant, and I said with sufficient clearness, or at least with sufficient correctness, that the latter had sent me the first number. Mr. Kneeland insists upon it that I represented him as sending it.

He has perverted Dr. Ely's language in a similar way, though in a much more inexcusable manner. In his letter to him, he speaks as follows: "And after all, I am not disposed to call Mr. McCalla a liar, though you quoted those words, 'a liar!' thereby insinuating that he had been so called by a few who believe in the universal salvation of mankind, *among whom you undoubtedly meant to include me*." Dr. Ely said and meant that a few Universalists had given me this name, because he had been circumstantially informed of the fact, as it occurred in the Lombard street church, a few minutes after the debate had closed. But he neither meant nor said that Mr. Kneeland was one of these persons, as appears by his verbal declaration, and by his letter. But, like the man who thought that every body he saw laughing was deriding *him*, Mr. Kneeland says, "you *undoubtedly meant to include me*." I suppose that we cannot hereafter speak of the world, the flesh and the devil, without *undoubtedly meaning to include* Mr. Kneeland, Mr. Jennings and his "little family dog;" which famous little animal has, according to Mr. Jennings's own account, become his preceptor in theology and criticism.* I could not give you a better piece of advice

* See No. 20

than to guard you against both the teacher and his evil-doing disciple, in the words of Paul to the Phillippians : " Beware of dogs, beware of evil-workers."

Although Mr. Jennings is the only one who has openly acknowledged his obligation to this Universalist professor of theology, he is not the only *cynical* writer who defends his system. Perhaps you are acquainted with a certain moderator, who after a wholesome chastisement from the Rev. J. M. imitated Mr. Ballou, by snarling an insinuation against the intellectual soundness of his castigator. Excuse me for giving an extract from Mr. Kneeland's last letter to Dr. Ely in illustration of the same point. By way of administering a mild and charitable Universalist reproof to the doctor, for an insinuation which originated in Mr. Kneeland's own guilty suspicion, he tells him that he considers such insinuations " far beneath the dignity of either the *gentleman* or the *christian*. It is more charitable," continues this temperate and polished character ; " It is more charitable to impute such intemperate language, as that which has been used by Mr. M'Calla and his *vindicator*, to a *disturbed imagination*, or a *disordered brain*, than it is to say that it proceeds from a worse motive. To say that such language proceeds from a mind that is *sound*, is only to acknowledge, in other words, that it comes from a heart *desperately wicked*."

The longer our correspondence continues, the clearer insight we obtain into the means by which Universalists defend their creed. They first charge their opponent with *undoubtedly meaning* some trifle which he never *meant* nor *said*. A solemn court of inquiry is then convened, composed of the wisest heads that can be found, on Mr. Kneeland's shoulders, and at Mr. Jennings's elbow. In such a court, the accused and his vindicator too, are immediately found guilty of *ungentlemanly* and *unchristian* conduct, proceeding from a *heart desperately wicked*. Then sweet charity begins to agitate their tender bosoms, and they set their heads and elbows closer together, to devise some pious fraud, some plan of mercy, whereby these *desperately wicked, ungentlemanly* and *unchristian* characters may be *lovingly* transmitted from the jail to the hospital. Like certain judges of old—who handed over their orthodox victims to the secular arm, with earnest entreaties to spare their precious lives, these bland judges of ours, charitably wish that we could only be immured for life, and considered by the community as unfit for society ! If this were the doom of Mr. J. M. and Dr. E. and all their vindicators, and the vindicators of truth, then each of their churches might be furnished with a Universalist pastor who is *compos mentis* ; a qualification which is exceedingly important to the ministerial office, and which is to be found no where else than with Messrs. Ballou and Kneeland, Mr. Morse, Mr. Jennings, and his canine instructor.

These five accomplished specimens of sanity, charity, and Universalism, have not disappointed my expectations in any artifice which they have used to pollute my reputation. Before the commencement of the present controversy, my friends fairly warned me of the consequences, in the tenor of the old proverb, with which, no doubt, Mr. Jennings's experience coincides. "he that lies down with dogs must rise up with fleas." Yet, through grace, I am willing to bear all for the sake of that good cause, which, through the power of God, is moving forward, although, I may say with my *Divine* Redeemer, that "dogs have compassed me : the assembly of the wicked have enclosed me." However great may be their numbers and their industry, and however cunning they wish to be in their unprincipled malignity, it is evident that their counsels, like those of Absalom, are left to judicial infatuation. What more visionary scheme could a Universalist himself invent, than that of Mr. Jennings, to make the world believe that without any human aid, he could record from the lips of rapid speakers, with orthographical and even orthoe-pical accuracy, long dissertations on Hebrew and Greek words, when he does not pretend to an acquaintance with even the alphabets of these languages ? He has made critical annotations to my pretended speeches. These, like Mr. Kneeland's writings, are an affectation of great familiarity with Hebrew and Greek literature. Is this consistent with the fact, that he does not know the names nor the powers of the letters composing those words which he pretends to have written ? Without this knowledge himself, and without the aid of any other human being, this Universalist wiseacre would have the world believe that he can unlock the treasures of lexicons, and concordances, and translations in the dead languages ! He must surely think not only that the parties are insane, but that the whole community is run mad. Such a tale carries in itself its own refutation. The man who can invent and utter such a story must have an understanding as beclouded as his conscience is depraved.

Yet, strange as it may seem. Mr. Kneeland, in the present sinking state of his affairs, has caught at this straw, to keep him from going to the bottom. He has even made repeated assaults upon the character of my head and heart, because I will not join him and his short-hand aid-de-camp in this mutiny against common sense. What makes this Universalist *conspiracy* against sanity and integrity the more absurd, is that Mr. Kneeland's participation in Mr. Jennings's celebrated minutes of the debate is proved by frequent newspaper publications of his own. While I proceed to show this, will you be so kind as to remember that your Mr. Jennings has said in the Franklin Gazette, of August 2, "I therefore publicly acknowledge myself to be the sole publisher of the said debate, and as publicly *disown* being

engaged with either of the parties, *directly* or *indirectly*." Compare this with Mr. Kneeland's previous declaration, published July 21, that "the whole discussion has been taken down in short-hand by a stenographer *employed* for the purpose." Who it is that has *employed* this *unengaged* reporter must be learned from the Universalists, one of whom, not being aware of the cheat, declared to several persons, of whom I was one, that the vestry of his church, of whose integrity he appeared to have a high opinion, intended to appropriate the surplus proceeds of the work to some charitable purpose. This he said by way of recommending the book to our patronage. Knowing that Mr. Kneeland was the soul of that Vestry, and knowing that 'the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel,' the plan did not meet my approbation.

Whether Mr. Jennings is or is not "engaged with either of the parties, directly or indirectly," will appear farther from Mr. Kneeland's "caution to the public" against the catch-penny pamphlet, called the *Substance of the debate*. In this notice, published in the National Gazette, July 23d, he pledges his word that the public shall be furnished with "the real discussion in full." His words are the following: "A copy-right of the real discussion has been secured, and will soon be published in full." In this instance he makes no allusion to Mr. Jennings, and in the former he does not mention his name, but only speaks of him as "a stenographer employed for the purpose." In both cases he makes the promise on his own responsibility: Why could he not make the same engagements with regard to the pamphlet which he had just condemned as a catch-penny? Evidently because he had nothing to do with that work; whereas Mr. Jennings's catch-penny was subject to his control. This is the only reason which a reasonable man can give for promising, on his own responsibility, that it shall be *the real discussion in full*.

In Mr. Jennings's article of August 7, he says: "I am the reporter of neither Mr. Kneeland nor Mr. M'Calla." Compare this with Mr. Kneeland's letter of August 2. The following are his words: "As to the new matter to which I had not an opportunity to reply [Ps. 9:5] since it makes nothing in your favor, nor against any of my arguments, a bare note in a very few lines will be all the reply I shall need." Although in the debate Mr. Kneeland refused me the liberty of finishing my argument, he gave me the last speech. He voluntarily resigned the privilege of replying then, and has ever since refused to open the discussion anew. Notwithstanding this, he has no doubt of an opportunity to reply now, and thus virtually have the last speech in Mr. Jennings's disinterested and impartial report!

As Mr. Kneeland had informed the public that a person was "*employed* for the purpose," it was expected that he would one

day or other condescend to let us know his name. Accordingly, in a notice of August 6th, he tells us that these minutes were "taken in short-hand by R. L. Jennings." Although this notice announced the work as now in press, and described its character, and detailed its terms of sale and place of deposit, it was not still Mr. Jennings's notice but Mr. Kneeland's. The former is not yet known as an independent editor, but the latter of this promising pair, who had first told us that a stenographer was employed, then promised to give us the "real discussion in full," now comes forward over the head of Mr. Jennings, and informs us of his terms of supplying purchasers, subscribers and agents; and closes by telling the public that the "book" may be had at the Rev. Mr. Kneeland's, or at the bookstores generally in the city."

It is evident that the first plan adopted by these partners in iniquity was for Mr. Jennings to keep himself out of view, and to pass off their spurious minutes as an authentic report, approved by the moderators, but particularly authorized by both the parties; "knowing," as Mr. Jennings says, "that with their approbation the work would be better received by the public." For this purpose a general rumor was industriously propagated, that Mr. Kneeland and myself acted in concert. By means of an Universalist who really thought the story true, a near relative of my own was impressed with a belief of its correctness, until I undeceived him. As Mr. Kneeland had already in his own opinion, gained one object by writing for both parties, without my consent, he tried what could be done by the same method in carrying this point also. For this purpose, when he published in the National Gazette his caution against the rival catch-penny, and promised to the public his own catch-penny, which he nicknamed "the real discussion," he added the following note: viz. "Printers who have advertised the above work will do an act of justice to the parties by inserting the above." The effect which Mr. Kneeland knew this would produce, and which it did produce very decidedly and extensively, was considerably increased and confirmed by my being precluded from the privilege of exposing the imposition in the same paper.

Although this artifice caught many a penny from persons who have since declared themselves grossly deceived, Mr. Kneeland found that it would finally fail. As the public must soon be convinced that the report was disavowed and condemned by me, he was determined to wash his hands of it, lest it should be treated as a Universalist book. The plan must be altered. The responsibility must now be devolved upon some *impartial* person. Under this character it is that Mr. Jennings makes his *entre* before the public as the *sole* editor of the work. A report is circulated that he is a Baptist; of course my friends must

buy his book. In the commencement of this new campaign, he blusters in the papers about not being able to find me in the city; insinuating that I retreat to the country for fear of meeting him. At last, after riding twelve miles for his accommodation, I obtained an interview with this new acquaintance, and asked him to what religious denomination he belonged. He at first insinuates that he is a Baptist. Upon a cross examination, he is obliged to confess himself a Universalist. As this occurred in the presence of witnesses, he considered farther dissimulation in this particular of no use, and therefore turned out Universalist preacher immediately after. Although this was done under the patronage of Mr. Kneeland, who had, with his implicit approbation, promised and proposed the report on his own responsibility, and represented Mr. Jennings as "employed for the purpose," the latter now declares himself "the sole publisher of the said debate," "the reporter of neither Mr. Kneeland nor Mr. McCalla," and is daring enough to "disown being engaged with either of the parties, *directly or indirectly*."

Being thus embarked in a vessel which Mr. Kneeland had abandoned, the disciple hoists the same false colors under which the master had sailed. Notwithstanding my frequent public condemnations of his report, he persists, number after number, in an attempt to persuade the community that I have not found one fault in it, and of course that it appears to me correct. Take his postscript on the cover of the fourth number as a specimen: viz. "This fourth number is respectfully presented to the public; not with increased confidence of its correctness, but with increased satisfaction that the former numbers have been received with such *general approbation*, not one error having been pointed out, according to the above request, in any one of the three first numbers." The fifth number would, doubtless, have been adorned with a similar postscript, if Mr. Jennings had not known that it contained an invented address of one of the moderators; which goes clearly to prove that this man is essentially deficient either in skill or integrity as a reporter. With divine permission this shall be more fully proved in a short time.

While Mr. Kneeland was the ostensible editor, he advertised without hesitation that "the books may be had at the Rev. Mr. Kneeland's." Since he has become ashamed of his authorship, it is necessary to cloak his activity in selling the work. For this purpose Mr. Jennings, in his article of the 11th ultimo, tells us that the books were sold at Mr. Kneeland's house merely because it was a *more central situation* than his own, and that his brother, a lad, stayed there during the day, as a salesman! A very important point this, when the author had already told us that the bookstores generally were engaged in the sale. But if every bookseller were in Mr. Kneeland's situation, which how-

ever is not the case, Mr. Jennings's fruitful invention could easily furnish him with a lad apiece to bear the responsibility. How different is this complicated and contradictory system of Universalist chicanery from the plain dealing of orthodox honesty! As soon as possible, I hope to lay before the public my own book, with my own name to it. I wish no one else to write it or to father it for me.

October 5, 1824.

W. L. McALLA.

No. 23.

FROM THE DEMOCRATIC PRESS, OF OCT. 7.

UNIVERSALISM AND UNITARIANISM.

Mr. Binns:—In the universal joy of Americans, occasioned by the visit of General La Fayette, the Clergy of all denominations have a cordial participation. In Philadelphia, they have made an open expression of a sentiment which is every where felt, though generally in silence. On Friday the 1st inst. they waited upon our illustrious visitant in a body. They consisted of Roman Catholics, Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, German Lutherans, and Swedish Lutherans. Besides Presbyterians of the General Assembly, there were members of the Scotch Reformed and Associate Churches, as also of the Dutch Reformed, German Reformed and several other denominations, amounting as I was told, to about seventy persons. However these differed in their views of doctrine and worship, government and discipline, they appeared to agree in these three things at least. 1. In placing Bishop White, the venerable Chaplain of the Revolutionary Congress, in the chair. 2. In loving our national guest, the companion of Washington, as an instrument in the hand of God, for the establishment of American Liberty. 3. In excluding from their procession those clergymen, (falsely so called,) who deny the supreme deity of Jesus Christ, and a future state of rewards and punishments. Those who are called Universalists here, deny these and other essential truths of Christianity. Neither they nor the Unitarians made their appearance, nor were they invited. In this, the orthodox clergy acted as their fathers did in the churches of England and Scotland, of France and Switzerland, Germany and Holland, Bohemia and Poland; as did the Hussites and Lollards, the Waldenses and Albigenses, the Claudians and Paulicians; like the churches and councils of Greece and Rome in their best days, which rejected such men as Arius and Sabellius; and like the Apostles, who rejected Cerinthus and Simon Magus.

By the 9th article and 4th section of the Constitution of this State, it will be seen that none but such a Universalist or Athe-

ist, as denies "a future state of rewards and punishments shall, on account of his religious sentiments, be disqualified to hold any office or place of trust or profit under this Commonwealth." God has declared that "he that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life, and he that believeth not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him."

W. L. M-CALLA.

Philadelphia, Oct. 6th, 1824.

No. 24.

Although, upon a comparison of the following communication in the Democratic Press, of October 14th, with No. 17, and other productions of Mr. Morse, it will be found that he has got some man to lend his pen, who had too much sense and respectability to risque his name; yet as Mr. Morse is responsible for its contents, it shows him to be a decided Unitarian in doctrine and practice. In doctrine, because he denies the Trinity, and the existence of a Devil. In practice, because he denies what he knows to be true; that is, that those, who, like him and Mr. Kneeland, reject the doctrine of a future punishment, are disqualified by the constitution of the state, from holding offices of trust or profit.

For the Democratic Press.

ENDLESS MISERY AND TRINITARIANISM.

Mr. Binns.—In your paper of the 6th inst. a short communication made its appearance under the title of "Universalism and Unitarianism," which for childishness and arrogance exceeds, in my humble opinion, any thing before presented to the public from the pen of the self-constituted champion of reputed orthodoxy *whose signature it bears*. The purport of the whole appears to be simply to inform the world of the fact, that "I, (W. L. M'Calla) have been in person to see Gen. La Fayette; whilst some others, *less officious*, or less greedy after mushroom popularity than myself, have not availed themselves of the opportunity." Though the above be the apparent, yet it is not the sole object which Mr. M'Calla had in view in presenting the public with this important item of intelligence. He thought he had now too good an opportunity to let pass of irritating universalists and unitarians in a body, as well as attempting to prejudice the public mind against them. We have the satisfaction, however, to believe, that Mr. M'Calla stands entirely alone in this affair, and that no single one of the liberal minded clergy in this city, nay of the whole country, will thank him for his officiousness, at this particular time, in striving to mar the reputation of those whose only crime is that their religious faith does not exactly correspond with his own.

It is indeed truly strange that Mr. M'Calla, on an occasion which called forth the gratitude of every heart, and in the midst of that universal harmony which pervaded all classes, sects, and parties, could not have suppressed that spirit of maliciousness for which he has on some former occasions distinguished himself. The joy produced by the presence of the illustrious visitor, the friend of civil and religious liberty, was pure and unmingled, and *would have remained uninterrupted*, had it not been for the peevishness of a solitary individual. Mr. M'Calla *stated, that they all agreed* "in excluding from their procession those clergymen (falsely so called) who deny the supreme deity of Jesus Christ," &c. I would ask who excluded them? *Why the Clergy*. But did the authority of the city, or did General La Fayette himself exclude them? Surely not; for *universalists did visit him*, and he treated them with equal attention and respect, evincing thereby that nobleness of mind which has marked his steps in every transaction of his life.

Universalists and unitarians had the same privilege of forming a procession that others had, and perhaps would have made as respectable an appearance (but for their numbers) as the procession did, in whose ranks was numbered the *modest* Mr. M'Calla. The only sanction which Mr. M'Calla has given for the proceedings of which he has borne so conspicuous a part, is the conduct of those whose faith accords with presbyterians; but we have great reason to be thankful that in this land of freedom and independence, such contracted views do not form the standard by which to judge of a man's piety or merit. As to his classing universalists and atheists together, he has manifested either too much ignorance or too much wilfulness to render it worthy of comment. What he has extracted from the 9th article of the constitution of this state, he as well knows *does not disqualify universalists* from holding offices of trust or profit, as he does, that many of the civil officers, not only of this state, but of the United States, are universalists and unitarians. Before Mr. M'Calla boasts any more of *his having visited* the General, while some others did not, *which privilege (as he would insinuate) was denied them*, on account of believing the doctrine of universalism or unitarianism, I hope he will have the goodness to inform the public what qualified *the most distinguished citizens of Boston and Cambridge for the company of Gen. La Fayette*; or *what qualified the Hon. John Q. Adams for the General's society* while he tarried in this city! It will be easy for all to conclude who know the religious faith of the individuals to whom I have just alluded, that their qualifications did not consist in embracing the *doctrine of the Trinity*, of their believing in the *existence of the devil as a "fallen angel,"* nor of their belief of the *interminable torments of the wicked*.
Philad. Oct. 11, 1824.

WILLIAM MORSE.

DEBATE ON UNIVERSALISM.

FROM THE FRANKLIN GAZETTE, OF OCT. 21.

Mr. Norvell : As my report of the late theological discussion is now completed, and will be presented to the public in a few days, I beg leave to trouble you with the following remarks, in answer to some of Mr. M'Calla's statements in relation to me, which appeared in your Gazette of the 7th instant, presuming that if I can show that the *most prominent* of his assertions are not founded on fact, it would only be intrusion to attempt to prove that the remainder are equally unfounded and unjust. He insists, that *I* was employed by the Universalist church to report the discussion. This is not a fact. *Had he taken the pains to have inquired, he would have found that it was a Mr. Stetson who was engaged by the church, which engagement Mr. Stetson could not fulfil, in consequence of the discussion being protracted longer than he could remain in the city ; or for some other cause to me unknown. I then, being the only person who had notes of the whole of the debate, considered it a duty I owed to the public to publish my report of it, knowing that it could not be obtained from any other source. Immediately after I had made known my intention, Mr. M'Calla appeared in your Gazette, and stated that the work was "unauthorized," because, I suppose published without his authority. I, in my reply of August 7, stated that I considered myself the reporter of neither Mr. Kneeland nor Mr. M'Calla, not having been engaged by either of them nor by any other individual in existence, but the reporter of the public, whom alone I considered my authority for publishing it. From the purest motives, I undertook and have completed the laborious task ; namely, from a conscientious belief that it will be useful to the public. Had any other person possessed the materials for furnishing the report in full, as I have given it, I should have been glad to have been freed from so unthankful an office ; for it is well known to those who are in the habit of reporting debates in congress, in the state legislatures, or in the houses of parliament in Great Britain, that speakers do not always repay with kindness the faithful labours of a reporter. Speakers are apt to forget many things they have stated ; the more faithful, therefore, the reporter is in reporting expressions used by them in the warmth of debate, the less they thank him for his fidelity, when, in their cooler moments, those expressions meet their eyes, to which their heads, I will not say their hearts, have given birth. The case of Mr. M'Calla, then, is not singular. He is not the first who has denied his speeches, nor is it likely he will be the last. It is natural for a man of sanguine temperament, in the warmth of argument, to use expres-*

sions which, on reflection, he would perhaps gladly expunge from the reporter's minutes; but which, in this instance, are given to the world as they were delivered. Had I been less faithful, it is probable I should have escaped the chastening pen of Mr. M'Calla; and, as the author of a little pamphlet which appeared immediately after the close of the debate, have passed along unheeded. But Mr. M'Calla, as soon as I made known my intention of publishing my report, being aware of the *powers of the stenographic art*, was determined to be beforehand with me; he therefore endeavoured to prejudice the public against my report by publicly denouncing it as "spurious" before he had seen a line of it! It is true, he has since attempted to *prove* that it is "partial, unsatisfactory and spurious;" but how? *Not as a candid man would, by pointing out, when requested, one or more of the real or supposed errors*, as a proof that he had something to ground his assertions on: No! but by telling the world that I am a Universalist! This, he thinks, is quite sufficient to justify him in any thing he may be pleased, in the plenitude of his charity, to alledge against me, no matter how seriously it may affect my interest or my character. This *proof* of my having given an unfaithful report may do very well, coming from Mr. M'Calla, for the bigotted, the illiterate, and the unthinking part of the community; but it will not convince a man of sober reflection; for he will see, immediately, that by pursuing this train of reasoning, it would be morally impossible to have a faithful report. This debate was not the affair of a select few, nor of a party, but one in which all are interested, whether Pagan, Mahometan, Jew or Christian; and between the two points of controversy there is no intermediate belief; for every individual in existence, if he think at all on the subject, believes that *there is* a future state of punishment in another world, or *there is not*. As I have thought and examined a great deal upon this subject, I must necessarily believe with one or other of the two disputants. Suppose then, I believed with Mr. M'Calla, that there is a future state of punishment in an immortal state; by the very same rule that he attempts to prove that a Universalist can not possibly give a faithful report, he equally proves the utter impossibility of a faithful report being given by one who is not a Universalist, or by any other individual in existence.

Mr. M'Calla's reasoning upon this subject, however, is consistent with the system of logic by which he can demonstrate to the satisfaction of any person, as narrow-minded as himself, that if a universalist were to give a loaf of bread to a poor famishing fellow creature to keep him from actual starvation, or to give him a blanket in the depth of winter to keep his slow circulating blood from freezing in his veins; or if he, as the Samaritan of old, were to administer to the wants of a distressed and wounded traveller; in any one of these cases, this Mr. M'Calla, with a

truly Levitical spirit, would prove it was a very wicked, cruel action! Now, sir, this is not a mere assertion of mine; it is what he, who styles himself a servant of God, a minister of the meek, the benevolent Jesus, has himself informed you. He stated in his communication of the 7th instant, that a Universalist told him, and several others who were present, that the surplus proceeds of my report were to be given for some *charitable purpose*. "This he, the Universalist, said by way of recommending the book to our patronage. *Knowing that the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel*, the plan did not meet *my approbation!*" This is the language of a "self-styled" minister of Christ: I have borrowed Mr. M'Calla's expression "self-styled," and now give you my authority for applying it to him. The scriptures declare that "If a man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his." Has the Spirit of Christ been manifested by this reverend gentleman, in his unprovoked and unfounded attempt to asperse my character as a reporter, without producing a solitary proof that he had any other ground for it than that I differed with him in point of faith; unless indeed it be, that as he is going to publish the discussion himself, he wishes my book out of the way, to make room for his own, reasoning as the Ambitious Alexander, that as the earth cannot bear two suns, neither can the christian world bear two books. This indeed may be the *sole* cause of all his spleen, but the man who could descend to such meanness to accomplish his purpose must have an understanding as beclouded as his conscience is depraved. But admitting all Mr. M'Calla has stated about "conspirations," "engaged reporters," and "deputy publishers," to be true, what will it amount to, if I can prove that my report is faithful, satisfactory and impartial? This I shall now do, and let the public decide between mere assertion and positive proof. In his communication of the 7th instant, he says, "It is evident that the first plan adopted by these *partners in iniquity* was for Mr. Jennings to keep himself out of view, and to pass off their *spurious minutes* as an *authentic report* approved by the moderators." Now to shew how regardless this man is of truth, and of my reputation, I have by particular request obtained from these *very moderators certificates of the correctness of my report*, which I here insert:

From the Rev. Dr. Ely.

At the request of Mr. Jennings, I would state, that I have not been able, since the publication of his "Minutes of a Discussion," &c. to read more than *fifty pages* of the work, which is less than one sixth part of the whole. So soon as I can find time to read the whole, I shall freely communicate, at his request, my opinion of the same. *He does not pretend, in every sentence, to give the words of the speakers, and therefore they cannot be considered as responsible for any thing contained in the Minutes, until they admit themselves to have spoken it, or*

else are proved to have uttered the same. For my part, I wish the Minutes may be attentively read, which will prepare inquirers for the subsequent perusal of Mr. M'Calla's expected publication on the controversy; and for the establishment of their own minds on this important question, whether there is any punishment for impenitent sinners after the present life, or not? During the debate of Tuesday afternoon, July 13th, I was absent; so that I can only express an opinion on the first *forty pages*, and the short speech attributed to myself, on pages 234 and 235, concerning which I am free to declare, that I discover in these forty-two pages, so far as my memory serves me, *no important error or omission.* *I uttered more than Mr. Jennings has recorded, and the other speakers may have done the same.* Had I attempted, after speaking, to give my own words, I do not know that I should have been literally and verbally accurate, any more than the stenographer. *I did not intend to convey the idea, nor can I say that Mr. Jennings has attributed it to me, that I would have no objection to hear Mr. Kneeland preach, under any circumstances,* which would imply, that I thought him a minister of the gospel, or of the true religion; for *I would not, after knowing his sentiments, receive him into my house in the character of a servant of Christ. As a man, I will show him any kindness in my power; but I conceive myself positively forbidden to countenance any one, in any manner, as a minister of the gospel, who brings an essentially different gospel from that contained in the bible.* After all, I think the forty-two pages, of which I now give my opinion, as just a statement of what was uttered in my hearing, as could be expected of any stenographer, who should attempt to follow men of ready utterance, in a debate of TWENTY HOURS.

EZRA STILES ELY.

Philadelphia, October 12, 1824.

It will be remembered that these forty pages, to the correctness of which the doctor has certified, contain the greater part of *those very three speeches and a fragment of a speech* attributed to W. L. M'Calla, and which he in the Gazette in the most positive terms disowned! The speech of Dr. Ely, having nothing to do with the argument, *I did not attempt to give in full as delivered,* but have merely given an outline of it, and this I submitted to the doctor for his correction, before I sent it to the press; *the only alteration he made was substituting week-day for any day in the week:* yet this outline of his speech, corrected and approved by himself, Mr. M'Calla calls "an invented address," which I put into the mouth of one of the moderators! *Let him settle this point with Dr. Ely and his own conscience.* As to the correctness of the remainder of the report, I beg leave to present you with the following certifi-

cates, though I am fully aware they do not agree with the unfounded assertions of Mr. M'Calla, nor will they "go clearly to prove that this man is essentially deficient in skill, or in integrity as a reporter," as the truly christian spirited Mr. M'Calla basely insinuated in his last communication. The following have been selected from those received.—

From the reverend William Hogan, late pastor of St. Mary's Church, South Fourth-street, and the reverend William Morse, pastor of the Second Universalist Church, Callowhill-street.

To the public.

We, the subscribers, hereby certify, that we have examined the "Minutes" of the "Theological Discussion" between the reverend Abner Kneeland and the reverend William L. M'Calla, which were taken in short hand by Mr. R. L. Jennings, and, in our opinion, they contain a true and faithful report of that discussion, *without any omissions or additions affecting the arguments* of either of the disputants.

WILLIAM HOGAN,
WILLIAM MORSE,

Philadelphia, October 13, 1824.

Moderators.

Certificate from the reverend Abner Kneeland, pastor of the first Independent Church of Christ, called Universalist, Lombard-street.

Having carefully examined the report of the late "Discussion" between the reverend William L. M'Calla and myself, as taken in short hand and published by Mr. Jennings, I hereby certify, that the arguments are essentially the same as delivered by us, in all their parts, together with the style and manner in which they were delivered: and although in many places I can perceive some verbal difference, yet, as far as my memory serves me, there is nothing *added or omitted which in any manner affects the arguments on either side.*

ABNER KNEELAND.

Philadelphia, October 16th, 1824.

Certificate from D. Francis Condie, M. D.

Mr. R. L. Jennings,

Dear sir—I received your request this morning, and in reply, beg leave to state, that I attended during the whole of the discussion between the reverend A. Kneeland and reverend W. L. M'Calla, on the subject of the punishment for sin, part of which I myself took down: I have perused with attention your "Minutes" of that discussion, as published; and have the pleasure of certifying to their correctness. You have not only presented *every argument offered on both sides of the question,*

but, what is always a difficult task, have retained in the report the *peculiar style* of each party, and most generally their *very words*. I may further add, that those with whom I have conversed, in relation to the work, as well those who oppose as those who believe in the doctrine held by the Universalist Churches, have all borne testimony to its correctness.

Yours, D FRANCIS CONDIE.

South Fifth-street, October 13th, 1824.

The reverend Dr. Wylie, of the Presbyterian Church, Eleventh-street, has given me permission to certify to the following effect—

That from motives of curiosity rather than approbation, he attended at the church in Lombard-street, during the debate between the reverend Abner Kneeland and the reverend W. L. M'Calla, three times, in the whole about two hours and a half, and although he has seen in the public papers, that the report is not acknowledged by the Rev. Mr. M'Calla to be correct, yet *truth obliges him to declare*, that he can not discover the least difference, *even in expression*, between what is contained in the report and what he heard delivered by the speakers when at church.

More certificates of the correctness of the report have been received, but the above, it is presumed, will be considered fully satisfactory.

R. L. JENNINGS.

I have trespassed, sir, largely upon your columns, and upon the patience of your readers, but it is with the hope that this is the last time that I shall trouble you on this subject, for Mr. M'Calla must convince me that the ears of those gentlemen, who have certified to the correctness of my report, though perhaps not so long as his own, are not capable of receiving sounds, and their memories not capable of retaining them, before I shall consider myself under any necessity of answering any more of his publications, having here given sufficient proof to satisfy any unprejudiced mind of the correctness of my report, and it is presumed that even Mr. M'Calla, wide as he ranges in the field of bare assertion, will not feel himself at liberty to state that the respectable members of his own church, or the others, whose integrity is equally unquestionable, are my partners in iniquity, nor that they have given their names to aid in "passing off spurious minutes as an authentic report." But if he should be disposed to say so, let his future communications be addressed to them, and not indirectly to

Yours respectfully,

R. L. JENNINGS.

DEBATE ON UNIVERSALISM.

Although there was no reason, from the beginning, to hope that such a character as Mr. Jennings would make a fair report of my argument as far as it went, my apprehensions on this subject were not, to the best of my recollection, publicly expressed until after his first number made its appearance: yet he has repeatedly published that Mr. M'Calla "denounced the report *altogether*," "before he saw it," "before he saw a line of it." This is the burthen of his song in yesterday's Gazette. Mr. Kneeland also has published that I denounced the report as *altogether spurious*. Some of their followers have taken this for granted, and used it with that industry which might be expected. Mr. Kneeland and Mr. Jennings refer, I suppose, to a communication for the Franklin Gazette of August 5, a few days before the appearance of the first number. In this I said that I was, "contrary to a written agreement, compelled to a premature close, and afterwards denied an opportunity of finishing." For this reason, his intended, and as yet unseen work, is called a *spurious production*. This is done in a note with express reference to what had gone before. Although Mr. Jennings has said that I denounced it *altogether*, and Mr. Kneeland as *altogether spurious*, this is wholly without foundation. The word *altogether* was added by themselves, contrary to my plain meaning. It has been already shown that Mr. Kneeland wrote something much more serious than this over my name, without my knowledge or permission. I hope soon to show that Mr. Jennings is his promising disciple. If either of these persons were to issue proposals for publishing a *complete* New Testament, while yet they intended to omit what they call the disputed books, and many chapters and verses of other books, I should, after such information, pronounce it a *spurious production*, without waiting to see it. I would not call it *altogether* spurious, because I could not tell whether it might not be genuine as far as it went. But these Universalist preachers would think it quite justifiable to alter my expressions until they would answer their purpose. They intended to publish for my whole argument what I knew, and what they knew, to be only a part. This would injure its integrity as much as if they were to corrupt it by interpolations. I therefore pronounced it *spurious*, and gave this as a reason. This was correct in language, and true in fact. The community understood my meaning, and so did those who perverted my words.

Mr. Kneeland pretends that Mr. Jennings is the sole publisher of these Minutes, without being in the least under his control. Suppose that I *had* denounced it as *altogether spurious*, without

seeing it. Would not this be as justifiable as for him to pronounce it *altogether genuine* without seeing it? And yet this he did in the National Gazette of July 23, by promising, on his own responsibility, before he read the work, that the public should be furnished with *the real discussion in full*. A *faux pas* of this description, in an orthodox minister, is of such importance that he must be declared guilty even when innocent; but in Mr. Kneeland it is a matter of as little consequence as a speck of dirt on a climbing-boy. Some of those who have been most clamorous against me, for a supposed premature condemnation of a work really corrupt, see no fault in my opponent for a premature and unqualified approbation of the same work.

The plan upon which this report was conducted is perhaps as exceptionable as the execution. The author has insinuated that there was some prospect of his becoming a reporter to congress. Would they be satisfied if he would give nothing but their argument? Would Randolph, Clay and Webster wish their thoughts clothed in the language of Mr. R. L. Jennings? Yet he would persuade us that this is his privilege as a reporter. On the cover of No. 1, he requests us to note only errors "affecting the argument." On the cover of No. 3, he acknowledges that he had omitted certain ridiculous words of Mr. Kneeland, of which a hearer of the debate reminded him; yet he says, "I consider myself only bound to acknowledge errors which may be pointed out, *affecting the argument*, on either side." On this plan, a stenographer once reported a four hours' speech of an eminent minister in this city, in such a compass as could be read in fifteen minutes. What he did not understand he left out; and what he thought he understood, he recorded in a manner so shamefully distorted that the speaker submitted to the mortifying drudgery of correcting the manuscript to keep him from publishing things in his name which would be a reproach to religion.

If the reporter be allowed to give his judgment of the argument instead of the words of the Speaker, it is evident that the character of the speech must be formed, not by the sentiments of its author, nor by his ability in defending them, but by the reporter's knowledge of language, skill in reasoning, and talents and experience in composition. A man of ingenuity could clothe a poor argument with a plausible dress, and *vice versa*. As Mr. Jennings is now one of Mr. Kneeland's preachers, he probably thinks himself eminently qualified in this respect. He may even suppose that I owe him as polite a bow as Pope gave to Warburton for expressing his meaning better than he could do it himself. Mr. Kneeland may perhaps give it as a fourth evidence of an unsound mind, that I, with such moderate claims, prefer my own speeches to a set of Universalist harangues manufactured for me by a student of his.

Upon this plan of running one man's defence in the mould of another, it is evident that its character must be, in a great measure, formed by the reporter's creed, as well as his talents. This made Mr. Kneeland pervert many of my arguments, and misstate many of my declarations during the debate. It has made him often insinuate, and even expressly assert, that my defence had no argument at all. In his letter of August 2, he tells me that I had mispent *four days*, and "probably might continue a month in the same way, and, after all, to no purpose." It is, I believe, the general opinion of men of piety and good sense, that a strong and unanswerable argument may be drawn from the case of the rich man and Lazarus; yet Mr. Kneeland said that "it has no bearing on the subject in debate." In another place, he says, "But as I before observed, I do not view it as having any bearing upon the subject in discussion whatever." Again, "therefore, I say that the account of the rich man and Lazarus appears to me to have no relation to the subject of future happiness or misery whatever." He called my defence "a continued series of quotations, *without any argument*, to prove the meaning which was attached to them." In another place he calls it "bare assertion without proof or *even argument*." When Mr. Kneeland, regardless of my words, gives this account of my argument what sort of a report are we to expect from his *employed stenographer*, when professedly disregarding my words, and giving what he chooses to call my argument?

This plan is not only inconsistent with candor, but contrary to Mr. Jennings's express engagements to the public. In his communication for the Franklin Gazette, of August 7, he says, "now, Mr. Editor, I propose publishing both of their arguments *in full*, and together, *as they were delivered*." He did this because he considered the debate public property, as he says, "so soon as *the words* escaped the lips of the speakers." He says, "I am accountable to the disputants and to society for any thing I may add or detract from *WHAT WAS SAID*." After this declaration, a member of that society, to which he is accountable, shews him wherein he has detracted from "*what was said*;" and receives for answer that the reporter is "only bound to acknowledge errors which may be pointed out, *affecting the argument*." As Universalists consider the case of the rich man and Lazarus, and indeed most other scriptural proofs, as having no bearing upon the subject, the reporter has only to view them as not *affecting the argument*, and then dispose of them as he pleases, without, in his view, detracting from *what was said*! Is this catching the *words*, as they "escaped the lips of the speakers?" He did not promise my arguments in a mutilated form, but "in full;" he did not promise them as manufactured by an Universalist, but "as they were delivered."

On the cover of Mr. Jennings's last number, he can imagine no other reason for my condemning his Report, than that Mr. McCalla "intends publishing the discussion himself!" As it is probable that the fear of rivalry in the money-making business has excited alarm, let him know that it was not for money that I faced Mr. Kneeland before an audience, and it is for a much higher object that I hope to meet him in the press. Although I have been at some expense, and it is lawful and honorable to seek an honest compensation for my labour, my publication is not to reimburse the one or reward the other. If God enable me to accomplish it, I hope to see an edition of two or three thousand copies. About twenty-five supernumerary copies, not one of which should be sold, would satisfy my cupidity. This is all the profit that I claim. Except these, the profits of the whole edition, whether great or small, are to be appropriated to the funds of the Young Men's Domestic Missionary Society, in this place. That this may be done in good faith, the pecuniary concerns of the publication, shall be committed to other hands. As this public declaration is necessary to obviate groundless surmise, and to inform purchasers that they will be feeding the poor, and not enriching me, it is hoped that it is not an ostentation of charity, in which grace I acknowledge with undissembled shame my inferiority to many brethren.

In the place above referred to, Mr. Jennings expresses serious apprehensions that I mean to avail myself of his Minutes in aid of my work. His fears are entirely vain. I would not copy such a mass of error and nonsense for tenfold his profits. Does he suppose that there is such a dearth of evidence, that we have to resort to a publication in which the wrong side is defended by one Universalist, and the right side by another? During the whole debate, I knew not that there was such a man as Mr. R. L. Jennings in the world. If I did not need his aid in speaking, I hope to write without him.

But he thinks me incapable of writing the discussion, because I took no notes of what Mr. Kneeland said, and paid but little attention to his speeches. A correct copy of the real discussion would be a very different book from that of Mr. Jennings. But this is not my object. I repeatedly declared that Mr. Kneeland had not done justice to his cause; and that if permitted to finish the materials in my hands, I would engage to lay before the audience a better defence of Universalism than he had given. To confine my attention, then, to what he has said, or what he can say, would be a virtual refusal to meet the controversy in that stage to which it has advanced, and would disappoint the expectations of the public. Besides this, Mr. Kneeland and Mr. Jennings are very anxious that I should confine my attention to Mr. Kneeland's flimsy sophisms, tedious repetitions, and mourn-

ful complaints, uttered during the debate, that he may still boast that the writings of his favorite, Mr. Ballou, of Hartford memory, remain unanswered. In a spurious edition of Buck's Theological Dictionary, which has been, in no small degree, defiled by Mr. Kneeland's fingers, he boasts, concerning those productions and his own lectures, that "these works have never been answered, although some of them, particularly the two first, [Ballou on Atonement and his notes on parables,] have been published about twenty years and have gone through several editions."

Mr. Kneeland suppressed a part of my defence in his "own desk," as he calls the Lombard-street establishment, and Mr. Jennings seems exceedingly anxious that it may be suppressed forever. He appears to think that for me to print more than his master gave me leave to speak, would belong rather to the licentiousness than to the liberty of the press. This is perfectly in character. For, while infidelity boasts of its free-thinking, and heresy, of its liberality, they have always endeavoured, when they had it in their power, to suppress free inquiry. It is error in fact, and not true religion that is in danger, under the freedom of our happy institutions.

Among all Mr. Jennings's insinuations, it is pleasing to observe that he had not the temerity to assert that I had not the means of writing my own argument, especially as he would have been contradicted by his own employer. In his own report Mr. Kneeland says that his opponent "had his matter ready cut and dried to meet him;" that he had "not only the outlines, but the very body of his argument completely prepared before he came to the controversy;" "that on his part the discussion was completely prepared, in all its parts, before he came into this house." As Mr. Kneeland has revised Mr. Jennings's Minutes, and declared them "as faithful a report as ever was made," we shall allow the authenticity of what is there said in his name, whether it was said during the debate or not. He has had a full opportunity of improving his argument, and exerting his utmost strength. To his reasoning, as thus published, due attention may be given, at the same time that the arguments of Messrs. Ballou, Balfour and Chauncey, Winchester and Huntingdon, Rely and Murray, shall be displayed to the best advantage, according to my feeble abilities.

The concession which Mr. Kneeland has made, of his opponent's having "*not only the outline but the very body of his argument*" "*completely prepared in all its parts,*" proves not only that I have the means of writing for myself, but the means of exposing Mr. Jennings's garbled report. This task is under-

taken for the purpose of defending the truth and detecting corruption, not to obstruct the circulation of his work; for it may do good, since he has retained some of my scripture proofs, notwithstanding all his unfairness. Neither do I undertake to point out all the errors of the work, for that would be to correct almost every line which it contains. It is true, there is a resemblance between my speeches and those which he has made for me; and so there is between a portrait and a caricature, or between a living animal and a dead animal; but as a living dog is better than a dead lion, so is an extemporaneous defence, fairly reported, preferable to that which Mr. Jennings has ascribed to me as the product of laborious preparation. This may be illustrated by a reference to a passage in which he has actually killed a very useful animal which was mentioned in my retort upon my opponent for endeavoring to expose my pronunciation to contempt and ridicule. After speaking of hearing a French gentleman pronounce the Latin, I asked among other things, "should I prick up my ears, as Sterne, in his *Sentimental Journey*, says an ass does, at every new object that he sees?" Here, no doubt, Mr. Jennings tried his stenographical skill; and you have the product of it in an erratum on the back of No. 4. It is as follows: "Should I have understood him as Sterne, in his *Sentimental Journey*, understood the owner of the *dead ass*, by the accent of his apostrophe to it?" Many impartial persons, like Drs. Ely and Wylie, would, from inattention and forgetfulness, think this a fair report. There is a manifest resemblance between the original and the copy. The likeness is at least as great as that which subsists between a man and a monkey. The same species of animal is mentioned by me, and reported by him. There is this difference, however, that while the beast was in my care, he was a living travelling ass, possessed of vivacity enough to start at every strange sight, as Mr. Kneeland started at every pronunciation except his own. But no sooner does he pass out of my hands, than this short-hand reporter makes short work of him; and finishes him more effectually with a single stroke of his pen, than his father Balaam could by the repeated strokes of his staff.

This is the way in which he has treated my whole array of argument and satire. Whatsoever animation they had in my hands, they are as tame as a troop of dead asses in his management. He has not done justice, nor any thing like justice, to my language, composition, sentiments, facts or arguments. In his report, my language is low, swaggering, and even spiced with profanity: and no wonder, for it is that of a universalist. My composition is vulgar, confused, incoherent, and as unintelligible as the above expression about "the owner of the dead ass

with the accent of his apostrophe to it." This is not wonderful, since it is the composition of an untutored young man, full of prejudice, and just commencing a profession for which he is not qualified. He has attributed to me sentiments and facts which are false in themselves, and which I never believed nor uttered. Is it to be expected, then, that he is a competent judge of what does and what does not affect my argument? After casting my words to the wind, as he has done, a sound argument in favour of that truth which he hates, can be no more appreciated by him than by his *little theologian at his elbow*.

As the task of examining such a mass of perversion is the more disagreeable the longer it is protracted, I shall not take time to detail the many false constructions of my meaning which he has substituted for my expressions. Neither will I notice many of his supplements to my quotations, in which he makes me appear very foolish, by quoting a great deal of scripture for me, where I quoted only a few words, and where a few were required by perspicuity, and candour required no more.

Numerous glaring interpolations also have greatly enervated the argument and stultified its author. In two or three cases he has quoted texts for me which appeared quite relevant; as Ez. 18: 20, 2c, in page 39. This is true also of Matth. 13: 11, 12, in page 38. But he there adds the 15th verse, which is irrelevant. Isa. 65: 13, which he has given me in page 113, would do very well if he had put it among the contrasts: but it is inserted where it has nothing to do. These two last texts, which I never quoted, I now add to my notes. John, 2: 14, in page 262, is irrelevant. In page 51, he has given me a half a dozen verses of John's Revelation, in the same way. Also four verses of 1 Cor. in page 63; and in page 131, he has interpolated John 8: 24: In page 67, he inserted fifteen verses from Matt. and referred to a dozen more in Luke, about which I said nothing there. In page 131, he makes me talk about Greek and doctrinal parallels without any meaning. In page 126, he makes me quote the Greek of Matt. 24: 3, to show the meaning of a Hebrew word. This, however, is not more outrageous than his putting into my mouth that interpretation of Matthew's words which Unitarians adopt, and which I abhor. In the same heretical spirit; he has, in page 132, made me speak foolishly, falsely and irreverently of the resurrection of Christ, and to approve of Mr. Kneeland's erroneous translation of a Hebrew phrase, in page 153. The descant on regeneration, which he has composed for me in page 144, appears like a parable in the mouth of a fool. In page 202, he does not say that I attributed inspiration to Mr. Kneeland, but this would not have been more inconsistent with truth than to make me speak of "seventy inspired

translators;" or to make me promise, as in page 98, that I would not quote from Mr. Kneeland's Lectures any more.

Perhaps Mr. Jennings thought that his many additions on the one hand, might be balanced by his many suppressions on the other. In the latter, as well as the former, he has exercised a prudent discrimination. While he manages my speeches so as to make them savor of idiocy, he takes care to suppress Mr. Kneeland's puerile display of the new coat of his miniature testament; which, by the by, is not near half as small, nor as handsome, as one belonging to his despised opponent, who never thought of showing his toys. Neither did he tell us how many languages Mr. Kneeland could read, and how many he could not read for want of lexicons and grammars! Neither did he tell us in page 162, that besides Mr. Kneeland's "appeal to all and every learned person present," he challenged the city of Philadelphia after his accustomed fashion. In the same page he has suppressed Mr. Kneeland's declaration that the Hebrew expression in Daniel xii. 3, was the same as that in Psalms ix. 5, and that the conjunction *and* should be supplied in the latter, because it was found written in the former. To be consistent, he has juggled my triumphant refutation of this sophistry in page 173. To make amends for this, however, he has made me say in page 153, that the very expression used in the Greek in Isaiah, is also used in Daniel xii. 2. After fabricating this statement for me, he takes occasion to contradict it in a learned Greek note. An anonymous writer in the Democratic Press, whom I know not, but whose fidelity should excite a blush in some of Mr. Jennings's ordained and graduated witnesses, seems astonished that in these days a man can write Greek before he can read it, and asks, *whence hath this man letters?* Mr. Jennings very sagaciously refers him to his little theologian, a little family dog, to solve the enigma. Our saviour and the apostles had a knowledge of languages by miracle, but not from such a quarter.

On the cover of No. 6, Mr. Jennings informs us with some emphasis, that he was the only one who "took notes during the *whole* of the debate." Yet in page 169, he tells us, "something is here wanting." The same anonymous writer who convicted him of another omission in the same page, has reminded him of suppressing the following expression of Mr. Kneeland, viz: "I observe the audience only hiss and clap when my opponent is up, and are silent when I am up, which I presume is from respect to me!" In page 288, he has taken no notice of his interrupting me, and of the colloquy which ensued upon the point whether it was of any use for me to prosecute my investigation of the word *everlasting* and its conjugates, since he admitted their uniform, unlimited meaning, for which I was contending. In page 300, he has suppressed the words of Rom. xvi. 11, and my real comment upon them. From my fifteen affirmative

texts, beginning on page 113, he has dropped an half dozen, and several others from my argument on the will of God, page 280. When he does this, he often fills up with texts of his own. This is the case in what he has said for me on *everlasting* and such words, where he has suppressed scores of texts, without "affecting the argument" in the least, as he would have us believe! In pages 207 and 249, he has given us a Universalist caricature of what I quoted from Gregory and Chrysostom, leaving out much which the audience cannot help remembering, when, if God permit, they shall see it in my printed argument.

To correct his report would be to write it over again in my own language and arrangement instead of his. The above are not near half of the errors which I have noted. That want of strength which Mr. Kneeland has informed the public prevents me from writing, hinders me from finishing at present. The most of these corrections are susceptible of ocular proof, in my notes which Mr. Kneeland has so abundantly authenticated. It is true that Mr. Jennings has adduced living witnesses against me. He has obtained and published in yesterday's Gazette, the certificates of Drs. Ely and Wylie, in company with those of Messrs. Hogan, Morse, Kneeland, Condie and Jennings! I confess I do not envy Dr. Wylie and Dr. Ely the company in which they are found, nor the business in which they are engaged. They have permitted themselves to be enlisted in the army of God's enemies, in an assault upon the truth and integrity of a man whose honesty and veracity they both believe to be unimpeachable, and whose reputation in these respects, Dr. Ely vindicated in the paper, after he knew my opinion and declarations concerning Mr. Jennings's report. As I never asked of these truly eminent and highly esteemed brethren, any other assistance than that of their prayers, their countenance and their books, the least that could be expected of them was, that if they would not throw their weight into the right scale, they would remain neutral. If the winning character of disinterested and candid witnesses has ensnared them, I would beg them to consider the *court* and the *cause* in which they have testified. God says, "be not a witness against thy neighbour without cause." Upon this infallible authority, the Scottish fathers of these gentlemen bottomed their testimony against the "Doeg-like sin" of being "either witnesses or members of inquest upon irrelevant libels." If, however, they had simply acted the part of witnesses, and testified what they could recollect, instead of adopting as their own, the manufactured testimony of one party, before hearing the other, who was suing for a hearing, their conduct would have been unexceptionable. But they have now acted rather as judges than as witnesses. They knew that Mr. Jennings and myself were directly at issue on the purity of his report. He had been fully heard, and I had repeatedly, in

public and in private, promised a reply with all possible expedition. Mr. Kneeland had revised and authenticated the report which was published. It was desirable that the other party should have an opportunity of aiding the memories of these gentlemen as well as his opponent. They have already given their decision! and they know the consequence. Yet if the son of Alcnomac would not complain, why should the child of a KING whom Alcnomac never knew? I am not sorry that in much sickness and weakness, God enabled me to defend his precious truth, even if these brethren, after compelling me to self-defence, should make this a ground of an exterminating war. I know by sweet experience in whom I have trusted: "And when my father and my mother forsake me, then the Lord will take me up."

W. L. M'CALLA.

Philadelphia, October 22, 1824.

No. 27.

In consequence of Dr. Ely's speech when taking the Moderator's chair, and his afterward certifying for Mr. Jennings, the Universalists are said to have greatly extolled his liberality, and to have boldly claimed him as one of their own honorable fraternity. This probably arose in part, from Mr Jennings's having circulated among them a grossly garbled copy of his certificate, which may be seen below in No. 29. But as the true copy, given above in No. 25, shows the Dr. in his real character, as a willing witness for orthodoxy, and a decided enemy to hypocrisy and heresy, Mr. Kneeland could not remain quiet under that weight of condemnation which the certificate left on him. He therefore unburthened himself in the following effusion: viz.

"DR. EZRA STILES ELY.

We thank this Rev. Doctor that he has been willing to let the world know his feelings towards "Mr. Kneeland"—that he "will show him any kindness in *his* power, AS A MAN.—Wonderful Doctor! Now if God is only as good as Dr. Ely, Mr. Kneeland is perfectly safe; and the Doctor's *squeamishness*, in conceiving himself "positively forbidden to countenance *him*, in any manner, as a minister of the gospel," is a matter of no concern, neither does it give Mr. K. the least uneasiness whatever. But would it not have been more becoming in this sapient "D. D." in speaking of Mr. K. "after knowing his sentiments," to have pointed out wherein they are erroneous, than to have insinuated, (as he has done without proof,) that he preaches an essentially *different gospel* from that contained in the bible? Of such men it may be truly said, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of."

In this Mr. Kneeland seems to think that if God is as good as Dr. Ely, he is perfectly safe. Dr. Ely had said that he conceived himself positively forbidden to countenance Mr. Kneeland as a minister of the gospel; that he would not receive him into his house in the character of a servant of Christ. Now if God refuse, like Dr. Ely, to *countenance* Mr. Kneeland, does he think that the countenance of Mr. Morse and Mr. Jennings will secure his safety? If God, like Dr. Ely, should refuse to receive this heretic, "in the character of a *servant* of Christ," does he think himself perfectly safe in the character of an *enemy* of Christ, or a *servant* of the devil? But Dr. Ely has refused to receive him into his earthly house, in his present guise. If God, like him, should exclude Mr. Kneeland from his house in heaven, does he think himself perfectly safe in the Lombard-street Church, the floors of which gave way during our debate?

No. 28.

FROM THE FRANKLIN GAZETTE.

Apology to Dr. Wylie.

DEBATE ON UNIVERSALISM.

MR. NORVELL—As you have declined publishing for me for the future, accept my sincere thanks for past favors, and permit me to inform the public through your paper once more, that my argument on Universalism shall appear as soon as possible. Also permit me to make a public apology to Dr. Wylie for the strictures which lately appeared in your paper on his conduct. These were bottomed upon a mistaken supposition that although Mr. Jennings had reported my speeches falsely, he had reported his conversation fairly. This was not the fact, as the public shall see at a convenient time.

Yours, respectfully, WM. L. M'CALLA.

Philadelphia, October 30, 1824.

NOTE.—We have offered to continue to publish for all the parties engaged in the abovementioned controversy on the condition of paying for the insertion of their communications; a condition both reasonable and just.—*Franklin Gazette.*

No. 29.

Not satisfied with misrepresenting Dr. Wylie's testimony, Mr. Jennings lays violent hands upon Dr. Ely's certificate, as given in No. 25, and after cutting out passages which are,

in No. 30, quoted against him, publishes it, as thus altered, for Dr. Ely's certificate, without giving any notice of the suppressions which he had made! The following is a copy as published in p. 334 of his work, in a supplementary number.

The Rev. Dr. Ely, of the 3d Presbyterian Church, Pine-street, has certified as follows:

At the request of Mr. Jennings, I would state, that I have not been able, since the publication of his "Minutes of a Discussion," &c. to read more than *fifty pages* of the work, which is less than one sixth part of the whole. So soon as I can find time to read the whole, I shall freely communicate, at his request, my opinion of the same.—During the debate of Tuesday afternoon, July 13th, I was absent, so that I can only express an opinion on the first *forty pages*, and the short speech attributed to myself, on pages 234 and 235, concerning which I am free to declare, that I discover in these *forty-two pages*, so far as my memory serves me, no *important* error or omission. I think the *forty-two pages*, of which I now give my opinion, as just a statement of what was uttered in my hearing, as could be expected of any stenographer, who should attempt to follow men of ready utterance, in a debate of TWENTY HOURS.

Philadelphia, Oct 12, 1824.

EZRA STILES ELY.

No. 30.

FROM THE AMERICAN SENTINEL.

DEBATE ON UNIVERSALISM.

Mr. Jennings, in the Franklin Gazette of the 21st ult. thinking it of no avail to urge any longer the old refuted fables invented by envy and disappointed ambition, seeks to rest the whole cause upon two points; my calling him an employed stenographer, and my calling his Minutes a corrupt report: "presuming," says he, "that if I can show that the most prominent of his assertions are not founded on fact, it would only be intrusion to attempt to prove that the remainder are equally unfounded and unjust." On the first point he tells us that if Mr. McCalla had "taken the pains to have enquired, he would have found that it was a Mr. Stetson who was engaged by the church, which engagement Mr. Stetson could not fulfil in consequence of the discussion being protracted longer than he could remain in the city; or for some other cause to me unknown." Let it be observed here, that Mr. Stetson was employed by the church, and not by Mr. Kneeland, and he declined the engagement and left the city before the debate was closed. This then was the time for Mr. Jennings to come forward with his proposals. In his next words

he plainly intimates that he had done so, and that my opposition commenced immediately after *he* and not Mr. Kneeland had offered the work to the public. His words are, "Immediately after *I had made known my intention* Mr. M^cCalla appeared in your Gazette and stated that the work was unauthorized." Where was it that Mr. Jennings had *made known his intention* before I made this statement? No where that I have seen. Mr. Kneeland had *made known his intention* often enough. He had told us, July 21st, several days after the debate, and of course after Mr. Stetson had left the city, that "the *whole* discussion has been taken down in short hand by a stenographer *employed* for the purpose." Mr. Jennings, in his last publication tells us that Mr. Stetson did not take notes of the *whole* but only a part of the discussion, and that Mr. Jennings was "*the only person* who had notes of the *whole* of the debate." Also on the cover of his sixth number he says "*no person* took notes during the *whole* of the debate *except myself*." Who but Mr. Jennings then, can be Mr. Kneeland's *employed stenographer* who took down the *whole discussion*, since he from his own shewing, was the *only person* who had notes of the *whole debate*? But we are not here left to mere inference. That same Mr. Kneeland who had told us above that the *whole* discussion was recorded by a stenographer *employed* for the purpose, tells us in his notice of August 6th, that the Minutes were "taken in short hand by R. L. Jennings." He does not tell us that the church had employed him, but he acts in every stage of the business thus far, as if he himself had the sole control and the undivided responsibility of the undertaking. He does not tell us, as Mr. Jennings now does, that Mr. Stetson was the employed stenographer; for this would be impossible, because this employed stenographer had taken down the *whole* discussion, whereas Mr. Stetson recorded only a part. He does not tell us of any derangement of plan on account of Mr. Stetson's departure from the city, for it was after this departure that the whole discussion by this employed stenographer was first promised: but he announces the work once and again without any change of plan or workman, and in such a way, in one case, as to make the reader believe that it is published not by Mr. Jennings, but *the parties*. At last, when he tells us that the first number is in the press and proposes his terms of sale, I informed the public, to prevent a gross imposition, that the work was published by one party exclusively, and not authorized by me. In order to give an air of impartiality to the work, Mr. Kneeland then persuades the community that *he* had not authorized the work; but that without his having any thing to do with it, it was as faithful a report as ever was made. Then also for the first time, Mr. Jennings seems to emerge from his subordinate condition, and publicly to declare

himself "the sole publisher of the said debate, and as publicly disown being engaged with either of the parties directly or indirectly." For believing Mr. Kneeland's assertion to the contrary, he accuses me of a high offence, and is willing that all our lesser matters of dispute should follow the fate of these two questions, is he an employed stenographer? is his report corrupt? My proof of the former is very simple, and although it rests upon the testimony of Messrs. Kneeland and Jennings, bad witnesses I confess, since they contradict themselves and one another, yet they ought to be good in a Universalist court, although disqualified by the constitution of Pennsylvania. Mr. Kneeland says that the whole discussion was recorded by an employed stenographer:—Mr. Jennings says that he was the only one who recorded the whole discussion:—Therefore he is the employed person. Accordingly his Master at last formally announces his name.

There is a way of corrupting a work of this kind without any of those grievous interpolations and suppressions which were exposed in the Franklin Gazette of the 23d ult. The strength of each part depends on its connexion, and every fact and argument will become nugatory, every anecdote and retort will become insipid. There is no difference between the best and the worst composition, when they are read across the columns of a newspaper. Not satisfied with transposing my remarks on the disorderly conduct of the Universalists, and thus introducing them where there is no call for them, he actually transposes his notice of the clapping and hissing of the audience which occasioned the animadversions of the parties. Near the middle of page 47, he tells us that there was "loud clapping, then hissing." Now it is a fact, which the audience will doubtless recollect, that this loud clapping took place just before "Mr. Morse sat down," and of course belongs to the middle of page 48. During the debate I observed that my opponent sometimes complained of my doing nothing but reading my little book, and at other times, that I did nothing but exercise my wit upon his speeches. This contradiction, I observed, reminded me of the fable of the traveller and the Satyr, the latter of whom drove the former from his cave (not hut, as Mr. Jennings has it,) for blowing hot and cold with the same breath. Mr. Jennings thinking that this was applicable in page 80, tells it there for me better probably than I told it myself; but in page 87 to which it really belongs, he merely refers to it, after making a confused and incorrect statement of the facts which occasioned me to relate it. A disputant who should speak as he has made me do in page 112, about the lion and the eagle might be suspected of an addled brain. This unsavoury omelet which he has mixed for me, is about equal to the barbecue with which he favoured us from Sterne's Sentimental Journey. In this place he does not give my authority, certain Scottish Reviewers

to whom I expressly referred for my real remarks, but he refers to them in page 86 where I said nothing about them.

In quoting a certain passage of Scripture I observed that it related to the end of the world. Mr. Kneeland immediately set to work to prove that this expression, *the end of the world*, did not mean what we usually understand by it. As these words were not in the text but only in my comment, I thought that Mr. Kneeland's criticism resembled one of Thomas Paine's which I had read more than a dozen years ago, on Job 37, 18. Without consulting the sacred text where he would have found that the word there used meant a *molten metallic mass*, Mr. Paine exercised his ingenuity upon our translation, *molten looking-glass*; to prove that the book of Job was written since the manufacture of glass was discovered. The only time that I used this illustration was in connection with an argument which Mr. Jennings professes to give in page 97, where the illustration is not found, but only an indefinite reference to it as having been given before. Turning back, we find it transposed to page 86, and attached to a foolish observation carved out of something that I said, but to which it is no illustration at all. He probably observed also that my reference to the metallic mirrors of the ancients was clumsy and obscure. For the sake of perspicuity, he makes me say that "the original does not signify glass, but something as transparent as glass!" Transparent metallic mirrors! He might as well have made me talk of transparent millstones.

Mr. E. of Maysville, Ky. once lent me a little work on Universalism which supposes the case of a poor afflicted widow reading Scarlett's translation of 2 Cor. 4-17, and enquiring of him what he meant by *aeonian* in that text. On Thursday afternoon of the debate, I recounted this case as one which I had read. Mr. Kneeland insinuated that the case was manufactured for the occasion; and asked why I did not use the name of Kneeland at once, as that was what I meant. The next morning I commented upon 2 Cor. 5-1, and supposed the case of a sinful and miserable man like myself instead of the widow, going to Mr. Scarlett; or, as my opponent seemed to prefer it, suppose that I should go to Mr. Crimson, to enquire the meaning of this celebrated word *aionian*. This was undoubtedly the first instance, and, unless I am egregiously mistaken, it was the only instance in which the word *crimson* was thus used. Yet in page 250 where this case is reported, this word is not found. Turning back to pages 224, 247, we find it transposed to the case of the widow, and twice used in that connexion where it was never mentioned.

Besides all the errors which have been already exposed, notes are now before me of more than four score instances of palpable alterations, some of them affecting the argument, and

all affecting the character of the speaker for understanding or probity. This remark is not intended as an acknowledgement of the purity of the report in other places, where his alterations are less observable, nor is it intended as an intimation that the public indulgence shall be taxed by a multiplicity of specifications. It shall be taken for granted, that if a suitable proportion of these spurious speeches can be invalidated, this will sufficiently prove, according to Mr. Jennings' rule, "that the remainder are equally unfounded and unjust." But this will appear much more plainly when those who heard the debate shall compare Mr. Jennings' report with my argument. For this work we shall wait, to shew my real division which he has transformed in page 22; and my real criticism which he has pretended to copy in pages 284 and 324, and other places. In page 220, he appears disposed to make a solemn subject ludicrous, at my expense, and at the expense of truth. In illustrating Paul's expression, *before the everlasting times*, by an expression of the same writer, *far above all heavens*, I had occasion to tell the audience of the ærial and æthærial heavens, and the heavens of heavens. My first heavens, the atmosphere of our earth, in which birds fly, Mr. Jennings makes the residence of God and sometimes God himself. My second heavens, in which the sun, moon and stars are fixed, he makes the residence of the Son of God, or the Divine Son himself. My third heavens the abode of God and saints and angels, he makes the residence of angels only. His making me refuse to pray for Universalists, under pretence that they had committed the unpardonable sin is not the only error that can be plainly proved in page 81. Nor is his manner of introducing Epicurus who died for fear of poverty, when he was worth 70,000 sesterces, a solitary error in page 183.

Mr. Jennings thinks himself a witness between the parties in some matters of fact, and therefore has a special eye on these in his report. As Mr. Kneeland continued to the last day, to inform the audience of his want of matter to fill up his time, I informed them on that day, after one of these complaints, that as I had much more to say than the time allotted would allow, I should be much obliged to my opponent for such *crumbs* of his half-hours as he could spare. This had a bearing upon the question whether I was allowed time to finish my argument or not. Mr. Jennings therefore in page 259, converts it into a compliment to Mr. Kneeland's superior learning, without the least reference to my want of time. His words are the following, viz: "And although I may not have the learning of my opponent to make converts of you all, yet I hope he will give me the *crumbs* which fall from his table." It is evident that he

noted the word *crumbs*, with his boasted "powers of the stenographic art," and then made the rest as he pleased.

It will be recollected that after my remarks about Mr. Kneeland's Greek Grammar of which I spoke from information obtained in the house during the debate, I was immediately corrected as to the matter of fact. It was said that he had not *written* it. My reply was, "Perhaps, then he published it without writing it, as I have indirect evidence that he did with his Lectures and Translation." In page 202, which is full of errors, Mr. Jennings makes me say "Perhaps he meant it was published without having been written at all!" In Mr. Kneeland's letter of the 13th ult. to Dr. Ely, he says, concerning me, "he stated during the discussion that I had *written* and *published* a Greek Grammar, which is *totally* incorrect." TOTALLY INCORRECT!! That is he neither *wrote* a Greek Grammar, nor *published* a Greek grammar; for if he did either the one or the other, the remark attributed to me is not *totally* incorrect, but half of it is true. Which then is the greatest crime, for me to say, through mere mistake, that my opponent wrote a book which he had really published, or for him knowingly to deny the fact of publishing? But it will be recollected by the audience that I frequently requested to be corrected where mistaken in stating the words, sentiments, or acts of my opponent. Of these requests it is not observed that the impartial Mr. Jennings has taken any notice.

After Mr. Kneeland had tried a variety of arts, with but little success, to divert me from an argument which he could not withstand, he introduced a certificate of Harry Starr, a promising young satellite of our Universalist luminary, to prove that I had announced to a brother clergyman a determination "to plague him by playing off," and that I "would not come to the point." Without recording all the features of dissimulation exhibited in this transaction, it may be observed that my opponent manifested a determination to make me spend my precious time in combatting this slander, or submit to its stain. For this purpose he says, in page 216, "I hope therefore, my opponent will not fail to prove the contents of the note which I have read not to be true. If he fail to do this, what will be your decision?" As this was a mere scheme to enable Mr. Kneeland to *play off* from the point, and to *plague* his antagonist, I determined to stick to the argument and pay but little attention to Harry, although I had a certificate of the clergyman in question to prove an *adibi*, and the testimony of four persons present when Starr received his information, to show that the light that was in him was darkness. I therefore contented myself with telling the audience on the last day emphatically, that this was a *fabrication*, got up for a particular purpose. In Mr. Jennings's report of this concise notice in page 244, he has omitted this emphatical

expression. Just before my opponent read his formidable communication, three anonymous letters were put into my hands. Although I took no written minute, memorandum or note of them nor ever said that I had, Mr. Jennings says for me in page 217, "I have on my *Minutes* a *memorandum* of some notes which I also have received."

As my opponent occupied much of his time in complaining of my little book, I showed it to the audience, observing that it contained three sheets of letter paper folded into 96 pages, five of which were blank, and so many others unused, that all my notes in the debate did not probably occupy more than two sheets and a half. The report makes this the size of the whole volume, and the pages to amount to thirty. This is about as true, however, as the profanity which he has attributed to me shortly after in page 87.

If Mr. Kneeland did not succeed in exposing my pronunciation, his *employed* stenographer has effectually done it. In page 168 he has given me a *z*. for my sibilant *s*. and an *a-w* for my German aspirate. In the next page he attributes to me a guttural instead of a nasal sound. In the foregoing page he makes me say that in the pronunciation of Hebrew I agreed with Dr. Wilson, whereas I said that Parkhurst was my guide, from whom Dr. Wilson differed. In page 185, he makes me name Dr. Wilson, as a more learned man than Dr. Campbell of Scotland, whereas I only referred to him as a *gentleman of this city*, who had been mentioned by my opponent with Dr. Campbell, and of whom I had that opinion ; but did not give his name.

In a certain case I had to remind my opponent that the Moderators were only to decide on matters of *order*. In page 171, he makes me say that the Moderator "sits here as a judge of plain matter of *fact* and nothing else !" To give a detailed account of all such alterations as these would be more than the public would bear, and certainly more than is necessary for their satisfaction as to the real character of the report. In page 173, he gives me Dr. James, a President of a college in Scotland, instead of Dr. Jamieson, who was no President. In 186, he changes Dr. Miller into Professor Stuart. In the same page he makes me speak of David's writings instead of his dead body. In the next page he changes an *escape* into a *surrender* and *always* into *very seldom*. In page 173, he omits a modern Dr. M. whom I expressly mentioned, and gives me *Priestley's Corruptions* instead of *Miller's Letters to Baltimore*. In page 222, he makes me compliment the candour of Kneeland instead of M'Knight; and in 223, makes me say that I, instead of my opponent, had quoted Parkhurst. In page 279, he makes me say that in the refutation of Universalist writers, I would use their arrangement instead of my own. In page 80, he has, besides

many other capricious turns, changed *backs* into *bosoms*, and my *hearers* into *his Indians*. In page 203, he has changed Old England to New England, and in the bottom, of 298, has substituted the Scriptures for my little book. For a Hebrew translation of the New Testament which I had just borrowed, he has in page 218, substituted a Greek Testament, and has, of course, changed my *Sheol*, intended to counteract an assertion of my opponent, for *Hades* which has no application. This, however did not *affect the argument* more than changing Hebrew into Greek and Greek into Hebrew, both of which he has done in page 153. As Mr. Kneeland declared sin to be a *mere negation*, I observed that to condemn or punish it, would be like condemning a vacuum or punishing a man for an empty stomach. Without *affecting the argument*, as Mr. Jennings supposes, he has made me say, that "It would be like attempting to clear a vacuum, or like administering an *emetic* to clear an empty stomach!" As the Report in general has much the effect of the antimonial preparation, more than half the glaring alterations which have been noted must be dispensed with. To save time in this disgusting occupation, my references to most of the cases have been very short and therefore obscure. This arises from his having not only altered the particulars referred to, but almost every thing connected with them. Unless therefore, the whole passage is restored to its original purity, the restoration of the word to which I refer, would appear as unaccountable as to see Saul among the prophets, or a Presbyterian minister of the highest standing associated with a herd of Universalist witnesses.

I have neither time nor disposition to enumerate the many deviations from truth which have been proved against Mr. Morse in the public prints. I would only suggest to his biographer, that he can borrow from Smollet a very suitable title for his memoirs. Let them be called "The Adventures of an Atom." Mr. Kneeland, a party, and Mr. Jennings, his employed stenographer, are well known. Mr. Condie is one of those who, in great wrath and disappointment, called me a *liar* at the close of the debate. As this indecent conduct was occasioned by the triumph of truth, I was more amused at the livid hue with which rage had adorned his countenance, than I was hurt at his words. His testimony manifests the same zeal in the same cause. With Mr. Kneeland he is delighted to make the Report an exhibition of my peculiar *style* and *manner*; and with Dr. Wylie's certificate coined by Mr. Jennings, he even makes it give my *very words* and *expressions*. Although this is what Mr. Jennings at first promised, he has long given it up, and taken refuge under the *argument* without the *words*. Even the modest Mr. Kneeland says in his certificate, "in *many places* I can perceive some

verbal difference," and Dr. Ely certifies, that "Mr. Jennings does not pretend, in every instance, to give the words of the speakers." It would be well for the witnesses to agree with one another and not to give the reporter more credit than he claims.

With one breath Mr. Jennings tells us that he has "merely given an outline" of Dr. Ely's speech, and with the next, expresses great indignation at my calling his report of it "an invented address." The evidence of my own ears, of others who were present, and Dr. Ely's own declarations, must form my apology. Although I was myself a witness, both parties were heard before my opinion was publicly expressed. The reason which Dr. Ely gave for correcting his piece at all was the very same which was given by an eminent minister of this city, mentioned in my last article. It was an unwillingness that any thing injurious to religion, should be published with his name attached to it. He declared to me expressly, "If Mr. Jennings has reported you as he has me, you have good reason to complain." Long ago he gave me privately the same opinion of the first number which his certificate contains. I told him that he would not always believe so. By way of specimen I asked him what he thought of Mr. Jennings's report of my division in page 22, compared with the report which I should then give him. Mr. Jennings says, that I undertake to "prove the absolute and eternal punishment of the wicked, 1st, by the scriptures; 2dly, from the account which they contain of the attributes of God; and 3dly, from the condition of fallen man." My report of the division was this: 1, Inference; 2, Implication; 3, Contrast; 4, Negation; 5, Affirmation. The comparison convinced him that Mr. Jennings was wrong, although he had not before observed it. The day after the publication of the certificates, Mr. Jennings's *dead ass* was presented to Dr. Ely and Dr. Wylie as another specimen, with the same result.

This last mentioned gentleman, like Dr. Ely, told me long ago, that he could discover no error in the report, but like him he could detect one when pointed out; and when he gave his opinion to Mr. Jennings he did not recollect, if he ever knew, my intention of giving my side of the question in relation to the particulars of the Minutes. I could not obtain an interview with him until my last article was in the office, and probably set up, or my remarks concerning him should have been of a very different character. If he had really spoken as Mr. Jennings reports, I could still say of him and Dr. Ely, notwithstanding this injury, that they are "truly eminent and highly esteemed brethren." But although Dr. Wylie gave this *fair* and *impartial* reporter liberty to "make any proper use he pleased" of his real opinion concerning the Minutes, he did not give him leave artfully to make a false impression concerning the conversation, as he has

done so often concerning my speeches. In a letter to me of the 25th ult. from which a few words have just been quoted, the Dr. says, "*Truth obliges me to remark* that the various items of the conversation between Mr. Jennings and me above stated, have been *rather artfully put together*. To the best of my recollection, the word 'although' together with the two underscored expressions, are *inferences of his own*. At all events, I have no hesitation to say that the statement, taken *tout ensemble*, conveys a *different meaning from what was intended*. Judge yourself, whether the premises [the foregoing narrative in the letter] warrant such a conclusion. The manner in which these truths are stated by Mr. Jennings, seems to present the air of a strong conviction of conscientious obligation to come forward and state the *truth* in evidence against Mr. M'Calla, a man *whose veracity I believe unimpeachable*. *Very contrary to this was the fact.*" Here then is the amount of Dr. Wylie's testimony. Mr. Jennings asked his opinion of his minutes of two hours and an half of the debate, while as yet the other party was not heard. Dr. Wylie confesses that he can see no fault in it, and gives him liberty to make any proper use of this declaration. This faithful reporter then cooks it into a certificate, in which he reports the Dr. as saying, that "*truth obliges him to declare* that he cannot discover the least difference *even in expression*." The Dr. now speaks for himself, and says that *truth obliges him to remark* that this pretended obligation to give a premature testimony, and this exactness of the Report "*even in expression*," given to him by the reporter, are *inferences of his own*; that the items of the conversation have been *rather artfully put together*, and that the statement altogether *conveys a different meaning from what was intended*, and one *very contrary to fact*. If all this is said by Mr. Jennings's own witness concerning his report of a few sentences, what are we to expect in a report of a twenty hours's debate.

The testimony of Dr. Ely, taken altogether, is not much more favourable. But if it were, the Universalists are the last who should claim the benefit of it, since they have in their spleen, denied him the essential qualifications of a witness. It will be recollected that Mr. Kneeland, in his letter of the 13th of September, attributed to him insinuations which he said were "far beneath the dignity of either the gentleman or the christian." To keep from ascribing such language to "a heart desperately wicked," he is forced by the sweet impulse of charity, to conclude that it does not proceed "from a mind that is sound." Yet not many months after laying aside his testimony in my favour, on the pretended ground of lunacy, he is produced against me without any perceivable change for the better. It is true, I am willing to admit him as a witness; every one knows him, as well as

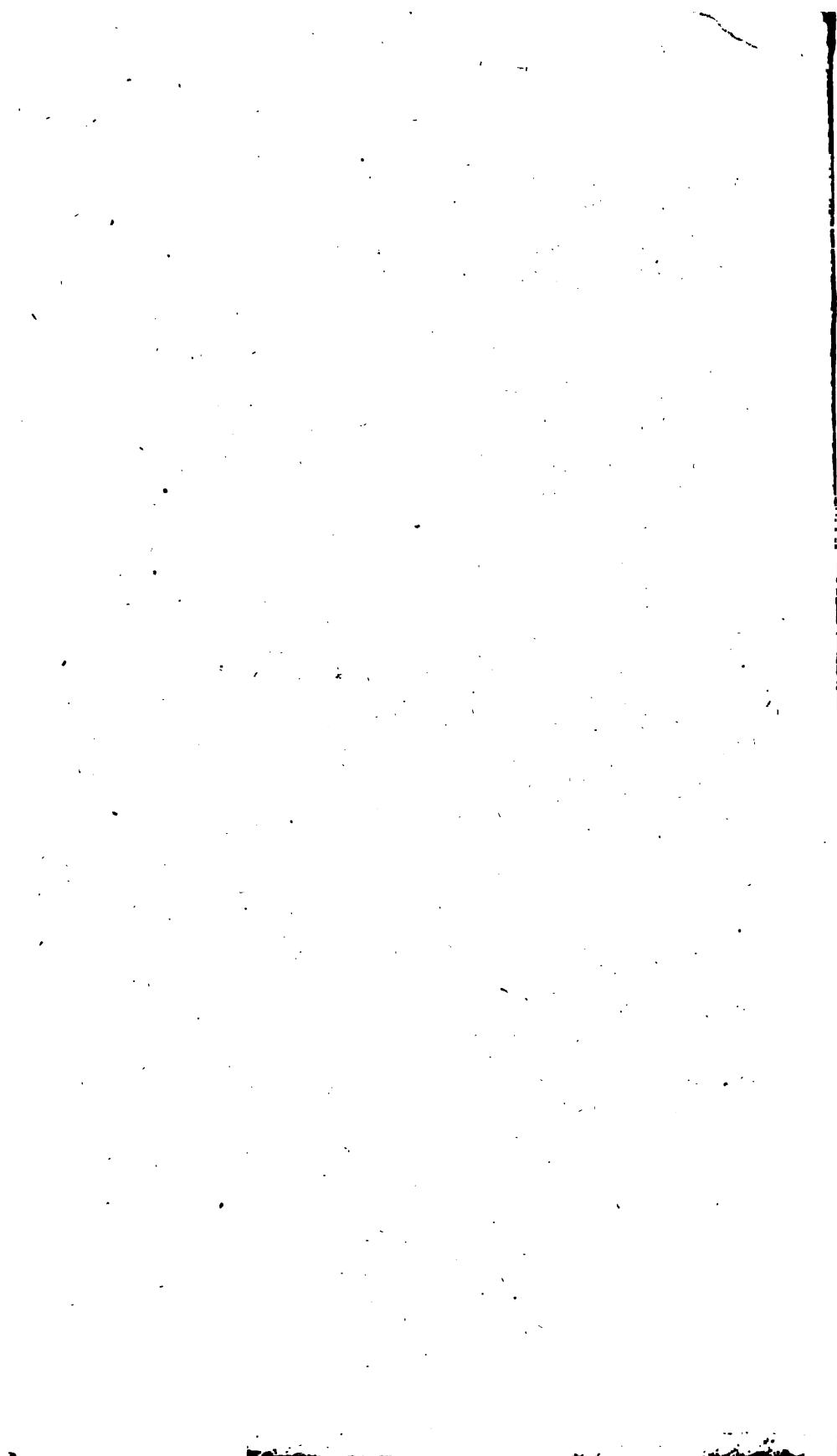
Dr. Wylie, to be one of the greatest lights of our country; every body knows that when Mr. Kneeland accused him of unsoundness, and when Mr. Morse accused Mr. Magoffin, and when Mr. Ballou accused me, they did not believe what they said, for we should all be very sound, if we would go over to their side; yet they ought to know that when they have committed themselves by such gross, guilty, slanderous dissimulation, they ought, for decency's sake, to preserve a small degree of consistency, and not to disqualify a witness one moment and summon him the next.

Where now are those hundreds of witnesses whose testimony Mr. Kneeland told us "could be obtained if it were necessary, of its being as faithful a report as ever was made?" I am informed that general orders were given from the pulpit and the press for their battallions to muster with all possible speed. On the cover of the last number of the Report, Mr. Jennings "earnestly requests every individual" who is willing, to send his certificate "as soon as possible to the office of the Saturday Evening Post, or to the residence of the publisher." It was prudent to name two places, as one could hardly be expected to contain the certificates of so many hundreds. The roll is called, and the faithful brethren, Messrs. Kneeland, Jennings, Morse, Hogan and Condie are found in their places. Now, gentlemen, are you willing to certify that this is "as faithful a report as ever was made?" Is it as faithful as some made by Mr. Stansbury, Reporter to Congress? Mr. Morse and Mr. Hogan, speak your minds, for you must understand this matter well, as you gaped and yawned and looked out of the window so much while the Kentuckian was speaking. They testify that the report is "without any omissions or additions affecting the arguments;" and remember that this school does not consider even the case of Lazarus and the rich man as affecting the argument. Well Mr. Kneeland, can you admit any flaws? Be cautious now, and do not expose us. "In many places I can perceive some verbal difference." What! is this the character of "as faithful a report as ever was made?" If you go that far, what may we not expect from the other party? Dr. Condie, you are **READY ENOUGH**, it is true, but your testimony is not worth much for that very reason. In this sad condition, they were no doubt much refreshed with the testimony made for Dr. Wylie by Mr. Jennings, and with that of Dr. Ely whom they had before rejected as unsound. Since its publication, Dr. Ely's opinion has been directly opposed by witnesses of equal respectability, and I hope will be changed by himself when he has heard both sides.—The injury done to Dr. Wylie by his reporter, I confess, does not give me great pain, since it proves Mr. Jennings unfaithful in a

little, and of course not to be trusted in much. It has also made me better acquainted with a man whose forbearance, conscientiousness, candour, and tenderness of affection I hope to imitate, and whose society and friendship I desire to enjoy in this, wilderness and in the land of promise.

W. L. McALLA.

Philadelphia, Nov. 4, 1824.



DEFENCE.

PART FIRST.

The question which has called us together involves an essential doctrine of Christianity. Hence arises, in part, my great willingness to engage in its discussion. For the lawfulness of such an undertaking we have the authority of God's word, apostolical precedent, and the example of the Reformers; of whom Martin Luther held a debate of ten days with the Pope's Legate, at Leipsic; and Melancthon, Calvin and Knox had their public conferences with the ecclesiastics of the establishment to which they were opposed. These do not necessarily give scope to evil passions more than written controversy. This method of defending the truth may, in certain circumstances, be conducted as decently and as profitably as the other plan. Yet if my conduct in the commencement or prosecution of this enterprise be censurable, I wish it to be explicitly stated and understood that the blame is my own exclusively. As I am not considered responsible to my brethren in this particular, they cannot be at all implicated in the business. My only desire is, that if God enable me to speak for edification, he alone may have the praise. On the Triune God of Israel is my only dependence. Willingly do I confess my natural depravity, and inability to do any thing acceptable to God, or profitable to his people, except by the grace of a risen Saviour, and by the help of the Holy Spirit.

Among those errorists who deny the eternity of future punishment, there are two general descriptions—the Destructionists who believe in the annihilation of the wicked, and the Universalists who believe in their eternal happiness. Some inspired men, as Job and Jeremiah, have, in the bitterness of their souls, lamented over their own existence, and appeared to think, with the suicide, that annihilation was preferable even to the sufferings of this life, and of course preferable to the eternal and the insupportable wrath of God, threatened in his word. This system is equally opposed to the scriptural account of degrees in

punishment; which we are certainly taught by our Saviour in his sermon on the mount, where he dooms one to the judgment, another to the council, and a third to hell fire; the servant who sinned against knowledge to the punishment of many stripes, and him who sinned ignorantly to comparatively few stripes; and those who despise the gospel to a more intolerable punishment than that of Sodom and Gomorrah. Annihilation admits of no degrees, nor does it admit of that consciousness of existence and apprehension of the existence of an indignant Creator, which the Scriptures attribute to the condemned sinner, when it is said, "ye shall know that I am the Lord." "He shall reward him and he shall *know* it." "Ye shall *know* that I the Lord have poured out my *fury* upon you."

Among Universalists there is a great variety. Some believe in a limited punishment in the future world, others confine it to this life. In each of these sects, there is a variety of sentiments concerning the description of punishment to be inflicted, some considering it condign, others penitentiary, others disciplinary. My opponent passes for a Universalist and not a Destructionist. He professes to belong to that sect which confines punishment to this life, and to that class which considers punishment disciplinary, that is, intended for the good of the subject. His sentiments and my own, may be seen in the question which we have adopted for discussion, and the several clauses of which, we have espoused respectively. "Is the punishment of the wicked absolutely eternal? or is it only a temporal punishment in this world for their good, and to be succeeded by eternal happiness after death?" The affirmative of the latter clause advocated by my opponent is a denial of a future state of rewards and punishments. It presents Universalism in its most daring aspect, but only in that degree of turpitude to which every description of this error naturally leads. Unconnected with materialism, as it certainly is, in the phraseology of the question, this system would send the antediluvian rebels to Heaven before Noah, the Sodomites before Lot, the Egyptians before Moses, Korah, Dathan and Abiram before Aaron, the Canaanites before Joshua, the blaspheming thief before the Apostles, and Judas before Christ. Did these holy characters need more punishment for discipline, for repentance, or for satisfaction than those rebels who died before them? or was there any thing in the

duration or intensity of their sufferings, which would give to the death of these rebels an extraordinary efficacy? In general their pains were neither very tedious nor very severe. The experience of many can attest that there is comparatively little pain in drowning: The agony is in coming to again. Whether those who perished in the general deluge and in the Red Sea were disciplined into holiness by their death, we may conjecture by the example of the Canaanites and many others who suffered much, before their death, and were only hardened under the means of softening, and blasphemed God on account of their plagues.

The several systems which have been described are so nearly related, that they may harbour the advocates of each other, without any material change of ground; as a prisoner may go from one cell to another, without escaping from confinement. In this they resemble the Arians and Socinians, whose subtle vacillations have been exposed by Wardlaw of Scotland and Miller of America. "When they feel pressed by a text or an argument which bears hard on the Socinian hypothesis, they take refuge in Arianism, and endeavour to maintain that the difficulty vanishes, on the plan of the pre-existence and super-angelick nature of Christ, as held by Arians. On the contrary, when pressed by a passage of Scripture, or a consideration, which wears an aspect unfavourable to Arianism, they can with equal dexterity avail themselves of the Socinian doctrine, and argue with the lowest Humanitarian." The younger Edwards has shewn that Dr. Chauncey has been guilty of the same tergiversation in the Universalist controversy. While professing to defend the doctrine of a future penitentiary punishment, he is not ashamed, in passing certain fortresses, to hoist the colours of the Destructionists. My opponent also, in the 206th page of his Lectures, appears to adopt a similar policy, in order to escape the force of Matt. 10: 28, and Luke 12: 5, which direct us to fear God, who, "after he hath killed, hath power to cast into hell." In this passage my opponent sees two difficulties. One is that God hath power to cast into hell. This he removes in a note, by saying, "because God *has power* to destroy, it does not necessarily follow that *he will*." But knowing that this assertion is a direct contradiction of the word of God, which says that he will "destroy them that destroy the earth," and that with an "everlasting destruction;" and recollecting also

that the second difficulty in the text is that this takes place, not in this life, but "after he hath killed," my supple opponent seeks relief by resorting to that very use of the word *destroy*, which gave to the Destructionists their distinctive appellation. His words are these; "But I have no objection in the supposition that this text is to be understood in a higher sense; and that it refers to the sovereignty of God, who has power, as all will admit, to render any *being* whom he hath made, *extinct*. He who created man, is able to *destroy* him in every sense in which he *exists* as man." Here he explains the scriptural threatening of the *destruction* of the wicked, to mean *the destruction of his existence, the extinction of his being*, which is *annihilation*.

My opponent is equally wavering as to the reason why our Creator punishes the wicked. In his Lectures and in that clause of the question which he has undertaken to defend, he represents God as all mercy, punishing the wicked only for their good. In that brief summary of the Universalist faith which is annexed to the system of psalmody used (as I understand) by that society in this place, God is represented as an inexorable judge, without any forgiveness except upon the ground of our making full satisfaction to the law by our own sufferings. The words are "We believe it to be consistent with the character and government of God, and perfectly consonant to the design of his law, to punish all wilful offenders, and to administer to every transgression and disobedience a just recompence of reward." That my opponent sometimes preaches this doctrine of a condign instead of a disciplinary punishment may be seen in the 35th page of his duodecimo sermon published in the present year, where he declares that "all the hell there is, (and we believe in all the punishment of which the scriptures speak,) is *inevitably certain* to the wicked: and their portion in this 'lake of fire and brimstone,' in these 'sorrows of death,' and 'pains of hell,' not only is, but ever will be, *in exact ratio to the measure and magnitude of sin*. It is on this principle that God rewards every man according to his works." The same adherence to the doctrine of satisfactory punishment is found in the spurious edition of Buck's Theological Dictionary. My opponent has there said, under the article "Universalists," that "they contend that the wicked receive a punishment *proportioned to their crimes*." I should like to know what the condign punish-

ment of the wicked means, if it is not that which is "proportioned to their crimes," and "in exact ratio to the measure and magnitude of sin." When this is laid upon an adequate surety, and the offending individual is pardoned, there is an exercise of mercy; "for to the Lord our God belong mercies and forgivenesses," "keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, and transgression and sin, and that will by no means clear the *guilty*." Yet when this punishment is laid upon the offenders themselves, and full satisfaction is exacted from them, however just it is, there is no display of mercy intended in it. In this plan there is no room for Christ, although the scriptures say "through him is preached unto you the forgiveness of sins." My opponent, not satisfied with thus contradicting the Gospel of Christ, "in whom we have forgiveness of sins," contradicts himself in the very next words to those last quoted, by saying "that punishment itself is *disciplinary*, and not inconsistent with *mercy*." What! is it an exercise of mercy to inflict upon all men, in their own persons, "a punishment proportioned to their crimes?" Is it like parental discipline to punish all men individually "in exact ratio to the measure and magnitude of sin?" Is there no room for "repentance and remission of sins?" "Is there no balm in Gilead, is there no physician there?" In the gospel we are taught that God inflicts a condign punishment upon our Divine surety, and a disciplinary chastisement upon those whose sins are fully and freely forgiven through his blood: but when my opponent, leaving a Saviour out of view, attempts, in the very same sentence, to make these two descriptions of punishment meet in the individual offenders, he shows either the most licentious inconsistency, or a want of acquaintance with the plainest terms in technical theology.— Yet great as the incongruity of these two systems is, they are not more at war with each other than they are with scripture and common sense, when, as at present, they reject the doctrine of future punishment. How can that man be said to receive in this life, either a disciplinary or a satisfactory punishment for the most heinous crime, in the very perpetration of which he dies instantaneously? How can either of these punishments be inflicted on a suicide, in this life, for a crime which, in the very act, removes him beyond this life?

It is hardly necessary to shew the multiplied inconsisten-

cies of my opponent by reminding you that on this very occasion, he has added a *penitentiary* punishment to the descriptions mentioned already. He has promised that if I prove the first clause of our question, he will then "prove that the punishment of the sinner is only temporal and salutary, to be succeeded by his *repentance* and never ending happiness."* Without dwelling on the impossibility of a suicide's repenting in this life, of a crime which, in a twinkling, terminates his life, I would observe that this shifting of the question from one system of Universalism to another, is effectually precluded by the question adopted by the parties. One of the most remarkable characteristics of a Christian is, that he is willing to make a distinct and unequivocal profession of his faith in the presence of the universe. But the anxiety of my opponent to secure opportunities of shuffling has led him into a most pitiable, though abortive attempt,† to elude the trammels which our rules have placed upon him, by confining him to one particular scheme of error.

But why should he so repeatedly‡ make my proving the first clause of the question a prerequisite to his attempting the establishment of the second? Are they not substantially one question? Is not the establishment of eternal punishment a refutation of Universalist limitations? And if these limitations be proved, does not my system fall of course? The only reason why the second clause was proposed on my part, was to compel my opponent to take a decided stand with that particular sect and class of Universalists to which he chose to belong. This stand he has taken by the very fact of adopting the question. If the transaction be insincere, let the censure lie upon the guilty person.

It seems also strange that my opponent should, in the commencement of this discussion,§ complain that my first half hour did not contain more evidence, and that he should throw the blame of his sterility upon my supposed remissness. Let the cause be what it may, his complaints are truly doleful. In order to the application of a remedy, let the evil be well understood. It is described in his own words, as follows, viz: "But as he has brought forward nothing for me to answer, nothing in support of his argument, I have nothing to refute. I do not know even how to consume my thirty minutes." "I feel anxious to consume my thirty minutes, but in truth, I know not what

* Minutes, p. 44.

† Minutes, pp. 23, 24.

‡ Minutes, p. 15.

§ Minutes p. 15.

to say.* This, then, is the evil; he has nothing to say; he knows not how to fill up his time. If this sorrow be imputed to my mode of managing the controversy, I will endeavour to supply his deficiencies by the aid of Universalist authors, and thus give a better defence of Universalism than my opponent has done. In the fear of God, this shall be done in a conscientious way, by selecting the several heads of argument, which our antagonists advance against us, and by marshalling their scripture authorities adduced in support of these arguments, to the best advantage, beginning with the weakest and ending with the strongest. This is not only the most honest but the most politic plan; because if their best array *cannot* be defeated, we had better capitulate at once, and if it *can* be overthrown, it had better be done immediately.

UNIVERSALIST CANONS.

Preparatory to this measure, it is necessary to pay some attention to the numerous factitious rules of exegesis by which the Universalist writers deceive themselves and others. The proof which God has condescended to give will not answer their purpose. They must have such as they choose in their sovereignty to demand. The Jews disregarded our Saviour's miracles, and said, "let him now come down from the cross and we will believe him." So these authors disregard volumes of plain inspired evidence, and demand that which would be exactly right to their perverted judgments, which take wrong for right and right for wrong. In this view they require that our proofs should be drawn from the right book and the right part of the book. These texts must be in a right style, the same as the context; and of a right composition, invulnerable to heretical conjecture. These rules are recognized by my opponent, in the 209th page of his Lectures, in a note which he has copied from the improved Unitarian Version of 2 Pet. 2: 4, which informs us that "God spared not the Angels that sinned, but cast them down to hell." The following are his words; viz "If God spared not the messengers who had sinned, i. e. the spies who were sent to explore the land of Canaan, &c. See Simpson's Essays, p. 205, &c. But if the common interpretation be admitted, it will not establish the popular doctrine concerning fallen angels. For, 1. The epistle itself is of doubtful authority! 2. From the change of style, this is the most doubtful portion of the epistle! 3. By

* Minutes, pp. 27, 30.

those who admit the genuineness of the epistle, this chapter is supposed to have been a quotation from some ancient apocryphal book, and the Apostle might not mean to give authority to the doctrine, but to argue with his readers upon known and allowed principles!" So it seems of no avail for us to prove the genuineness, authenticity and inspiration of our authorities, if even a nameless heretic can be quoted, by whom it is *supposed* that the writer did not mean what he said! Thus do these modern Pharisees and Sadducees make void the law of God by their traditions and impious conjectures.

Besides these things, they demand in our authorities, what they or their friends *suppose* to be the right words and phrases, subject, and sense; with a right extent of reference and address; by a right number of authors, and a right frequency of repetition; and *that* at what they *suppose* to be the right times. In Hebr. 7: 16, we find the word *endless* or *indissoluble** in connection with life. In the 223d page of my opponent's lectures, he says, "if this word could have been so much as once found connected with death, in the same manner as it is here connected with life, it would have given more support to the doctrine of endless misery, than all that is contained in the Bible besides." He now asks,† "why did they [the inspired writers] not make use of this term about the meaning of which there could be no dispute?" He makes the same high sounding demands‡ concerning the phrase§ which is, in Isa. 45: 17, translated *world without end*. He says, "If he [his antagonist] can, let him, find the passage in which the words are found in connection with punishment, misery, or death, and again I say, I will give him the argument, and our discussion will end." Thus my opponent will not believe the truth, however plainly declared in Holy Writ, unless it is revealed in such words and phrases as he shall dictate; and he takes care to dictate such as he thinks can never be found in that connection. Neither would he yield, if all his demands were complied with; as is evident from his refusing so to do, when through the suggestion of a friend, Ps. 9: 5, was quoted, in which the Hebrew phrase¶ used in connection with punishment, is, according to his own acknowledgment, equivalent to the expression used in Isa. 45: 17, in connection with happiness.

* *αἰώνιος*

‡ Minutes, p. 105.

‡ Minutes, pp. 175, 181, 252.

¶ ער עולמי עד

לעולם ועד

After one Universalist has directed the inspired penman what word to use, it is no wonder that another should dictate the subject of his whole discourse. Balfour, in the 3d section of his enquiry, will not admit that the "damnation of hell," spoken of in Matt. 23: 33, can mean an eternal punishment, because the whole discourse is not exclusively confined to eternal subjects. He says that it "occurs in the fullest and plainest discourse ever uttered by our Lord concerning the temporal miseries coming on the Jewish nation." "How comes it to pass that if the damnation of hell means eternal misery, it should only be introduced in such a discourse?" It might as well be asked how "our daily bread" can mean bodily nourishment, when spiritual blessings are evidently the chief subject of the Lord's prayer. Throughout the whole Bible, temporal and eternal things are connected as they are in 1 Tim. 4: 8, where godliness is said to have the "promise of the life that now is; and of that which is to come."

But if these writers cannot keep the Apostles from mingling different subjects in the same discourse, they are determined to remedy the evil, by giving to their works what they consider the right sense, or in other words, by giving to the Scriptures whatsoever sense will best suit their views of Universalism, even if it should attach to Christ and his apostles the charge of error. This, in fact, appears to be the real object of their distinction between the *theocratical and popular sense* of Scripture. Balfour in his 2d section, declares that the Jews in the time of Christ, believed falsely in future punishment; and that our Saviour's language with regard to Lazarus and the rich man, "was only availing himself of their *popular* belief, to shew them the obstinacy of their unbelief." In the next section he informs us that all our Saviour's language concerning Abraham's bosom, and the place of torment in this conspicuous passage "is merely brought in as a part of its imagery," and that, on such subjects, it is not our Saviour's design to adhere "strictly to the truth of things." If by this distinction or any other, Mr. Balfour could prove the Son of God a liar, he would doubtless be congratulated by all the devils in hell, and by many of his brethren on earth. Of the felicitations of one of them at least, he would be absolutely certain. In a pamphlet, entitled "*Presbyterianism versus Presbyterianism*" published by my opponent, in the year 1819, you find him asserting in the 16th page, concerning the plainest historical and doctrinal declarations of Scripture, "all this is *popular*

language, and is true only in a *popular* sense;* that is in a "*false*" sense, as he afterward explains it. By the aid of this distinction, he inculcates that all those passages which are usually perverted to the defence of Unitarianism and Universalism are to be understood in the *theocratical* or *true* sense; and all those which convey most plainly the essential doctrines of Christianity are to be understood in the *popular* or *false* sense. Upon the ground of this distinction, furnished him by Mr. Balfour, he asserts "that God does whatever his creatures do," that God "is not resisted at all;" that "when-ever the consequences of the actions of man are beyond his foresight or motive, those consequences cannot be imputed to him, but must be imputed to God alone;" that "man, considered as an instrument in the hands of God, is *altogether* passive." "This system considers man as having nothing to do." "Man, in this sense of speaking, is *altogether* passive, and acts only as he is acted upon." By this plan, my opponent has, in page 16, ascertained the theocratical falsehood of all those passages "in which men are said to go astray like sheep, or to return again to the great Shepherd; to resist the Spirit of God, or to yield obedience to his law; to be lost or to be saved"!!! "It is in the popular [that is the false] sense, only, that men can be subjects of either praise or blame." "In this sense, he is no more accountable than the axe is accountable to the man who useth it, or the saw to the hand which shaketh it."*

After my opponent thinks that he has hewn down all the cedars of Lebanon by this newly invented weapon, he sits down with the self complacency of a certain character who "eateth and wipeth her mouth and saith I have done no wickedness." He even boasts, in his 22d page, that he has done much good. "Thus," says he, "according to this system, being well understood, and *these rules* adhered to in construing the Holy Scriptures, all those contradictions in language, and confusion of ideas, which are so obvious in other systems of divinity, are completely done away." He thinks that by denying the purity of God, the depravity and accountability of man, and the doctrines of perdition and salvation, we are to understand better, that revelation which was given for the express purpose of teaching those very truths which he denies! No wonder that Dr. James P. Wilson, of this city, said, in his printed† animadversions upon

*See pp. 16, 18, 20, 22.

† In 1820. |

the pamphlet which contains these sentiments, that "the principles of this Universalist appear to be nefarious, beyond a parallel."

But as this way of contradicting the Scriptures by admitting their truth in a *popular sense*, is rather an *unpopular* thing among the churches, some writers have given to this popular or false sense, a more plausible name, by calling it *paraboli- cal*. You would scarcely expect this from Mr. Balfour after his telling us that "a parable, like a fable, is designed to impress on the mind, in a pleasing manner, some *important truth*." He admits that they may be used to establish a "*particular doctrine of christianity*," but prudently remarks that "the utmost caution should be observed in reasoning from them," for this purpose. Yet when he comes to examine a particular case, instead of establishing a "*doctrine of christianity*," or discovering an "*important truth*," he takes it for granted that the dialogue between Abraham and the rich man is "*a fiction*," and pretends that thus far we agree with him; and he charges us with inconsistency for believing in opposition to him, that the account of the rich man being in torment is "*a fact*." In the next paragraph he gives this assumed position that the narrative is *paraboli- cal* as one reason why we should not believe "what is said about *Hades* being a place of torment." In another place, he says concerning the rich man, "But if this is only a *supposed person*, I ask those who may differ from me, to prove that the person is a *real being*. If they advocate *the torment to be a reality*, they ought first to prove *the person tormented in Hades to be not a parabolic person*, before they draw the conclusion that the torment is not a *parabolic torment*. The first must be proved before the last can be admitted; for a person must exist before he can be tormented in any place. If the person mentioned is a *real being*, and the torment he complains of a *reality*, and not a *fictitious* or *parabolic representation*, we have a right to demand why every thing in this account is not considered a *narrative of facts*, and not a *parable*."* According to this extract from one of my opponent's favourite authors, a *parable* cannot be a *narrative of facts*; a *parabolic representation* is a *fictitious representation*, and nothing can be truly predicated of a *paraboli- cal person*, because he is only a *supposed person*, and not a *real being*. Is this like impressing "upon the mind, in a pleasing man-

* Section 2d.

ner, some important truth?" This rule was invented to stamp with the seal of *fiction*, every *important truth* which stands in the way of the heretic. By this rule Mr. Ballou, in his first Lecture on the Parables, proved that the axe which "is laid unto the root of the trees," will not even penetrate the outer bark, much less prostrate them in the fire. In his second, he has shewn that there is no danger of the wicked being consumed like chaff in unquenchable fire; and in his third, that they need not fear having their bodies cast into hell as a place of torment. All these passages of Scripture are, in his view, parabolical, and fictitious of course. For the same reason, he and my opponent reject our Saviour's account of the day of judgment, which Mr. Ballou, in the 174th page of his Treatise on Atonement, has styled the "parable of the sheep and goats." He also thinks that he has closed the impassable gulph, not as Curtius did, (for he is probably more like the Jewish rich man, than the Roman hero,) but by pronouncing it a parable, that is, a fiction.

But let us apply the rule as held by these characters, to some familiar cases. Mr. Ballou has not, I believe, told us that the ten commandments were a parable, but he might as well have done it, as to have made a fiction of Luke 16: 18, "Whosoever putteth away his wife, and marrieth another, committeth adultery; and whosoever marrieth her that is put away from her husband, committeth adultery." This is Mr. Ballou's 37th parable. Of course he must consider the husband and wife *parabolical persons*, and not *real beings*. Then all that is said about marrying, divorcing, and marrying again, is only a *fictitious representation*. Would not this make void the law of God? Besides much doctrinal and practical instruction, we have in the 78th Psalm, a long and strictly *true* history of God's people for many hundred years. But in the second verse, the inspired writer calls it a *parable*. Is it therefore a *fiction*? In the 23d and 24th chapters of Numbers, the Spirit of God foretells the future habitation, increase, prosperity and triumph of his people Israel, and the advent and kingdom of Christ. The inspired writer repeatedly calls these predictions a *parable*. Because Israel is mentioned in a parable, had this people no real existence? Was the star that should come out of Jacob only a "*supposed person*," or an imaginary being? And was his coming a mere *fictitious representation*? But remember that it was not more positively declared that Christ should come, and his people prosper, than that his enemies

should *perish forever*. In the 20th verse of the 24th chapter, the historian says, "and when he looked on Amalek, he took up his parable, and said, Amalek was the first of the nations, but his latter end shall be that he *perish forever*." To deny the truth of these parables could be expected from none but an infidel, and in Proverbs 26: 7, Solomon assures us that no wise man will lame them, by believing a part to be truth and a part fiction. "The legs of the lame are not equal ; so is a parable in the mouth of fools."

But we have already observed that another of their rules of exposition is that a scriptural declaration must have a right extent of reference and address. My opponent says,* "the punishment of Gehenna is never threatened to the Gentiles." He denies that Christ "threatened with the punishment of Gehenna, any others than Jews." Mr. Balfour says "that not a word about Hell or Gehenna is said to the Gentiles by any of the inspired writers." He says "that all that is said about Gehenna in the way of threatening or in any other shape was spoken to Jews: Jews and they only were the persons addressed when speaking of Gehenna. It is not once named to the Gentiles in all the New Testament, nor are any of them ever threatened with such a punishment."† Their object is to shew that hell does not mean the eternal misery of every unbeliever, but only the temporal calamities of the Jewish nation, in the destruction of Jerusalem. To prove this they state what need not be disputed, that the inspired discourses about Gehenna were *addressed* to Jews only. Their conclusion is, that these discourses *refer* to them only. According to this rule no part of the Bible can relate to Ireland or Philadelphia, because not *addressed* to their inhabitants. Most of the Scriptures were originally addressed to the Jews, yet a great portion of them refer either expressly or implicitly to the Gentiles. Can it be supposed that the poor in spirit, the meek, the mourners, the merciful, the peace-makers, the pure, and the persecuted among the Gentiles, cannot be happy because the beatitudes were addressed to the Jews? Our Saviour once said to certain Jews, "He that believeth and is baptised shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned." Because this was not addressed to Gentiles personally, have they therefore no part in either salvation or damnation? Our Saviour intimates that those who are unwilling

* Minutes, p. 177.

† Section 2d and 3d.

to part with an offending hand, or foot, or eye, shall "be cast into hell, into the fire that never shall be quenched." Are none but Jews unwilling to forsake their sins? If Gentiles resemble them in character, they must partake of their punishment. Our Saviour says to the Jews, "Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers! how can ye escape the damnation of hell?" Are no serpents and vipers to be found among the Gentiles? I should guess that all the hissing which we have had against the truth in this house has not come from Jews. If, then, unbelievers of all nations are the Children of the old serpent, it may be truly said of them, that they cannot escape the damnation of Gehenna. Neither will it avail in proof that Gehenna relates to the destruction of Jerusalem, to say, as Mr. Balfour has done in his 4th section, that John, who wrote after that event, "omits all our Lord's discourses in which it is mentioned;" since he has also omitted the sermon on the Mount and the apostolic commission above quoted, and many other things which relate to Heaven as well as Hell, to salvation as well as perdition.

It has already been announced that the Universalist polemics require that our proofs should be uttered by what they esteem a right number of authors, a right frequency of repetition, and at the right times. My opponent, on this subject, speaks as follows: Paul "never once made use of this term *Gehenna* or *hell* in all his preaching. Ah! Paul, have you preached the whole counsel of God? and yet we cannot find this wonderful term in all your preaching!!! Now my hearers, I ask you, how could Paul preach the whole counsel of God, and yet not preach the *Gehenna* or *hell* of my opponent, if this doctrine of *hell* be contained in any part of the counsel of God?"* Although Mr. Balfour admits that our Saviour threatened unbelieving Jews with the damnation of hell, yet, in his 4th section, he sees no reason even for them to fear, because the Apostles "were commanded to preach the Gospel to every creature," and "they addressed the worst of characters, but to none of them did *they* ever say, *how can ye escape the damnation of hell?*" To prove the same point he tells us in chap. 2. sect. 2, "that the word *Gehenna* or *hell* is used by our Lord, and by James, but by no other person in the New Testament." Near the close of Section 4th, he says, "Now let it be supposed, that by this

* Minutes, p. 176.

expression, our Lord meant endless misery in a future state. I ask is it possible our Lord should only mention this once? I ask again, can it be believed, that he who said on the cross, 'Father forgive them, for they know not what they do,' should have ceased, but with his dying breath, to warn these men that such a place of endless misery awaited them? I ask once more, is it possible that he, who, when he beheld the city, 'wept over it,' on account of temporal calamities, in which it was soon to be involved, should shed no tears in anticipating the endless misery of its wicked inhabitants?" From this it would appear that, with such characters, the authority of our Lord, or of an inspired Apostle is not sufficient. They will believe nothing but what has been declared by all the sacred college, very often, on all important occasions, and especially in the hour of death. In the second section of Balfour's first chapter, he leaves "it to any candid man to say, if *Hades* be a place of torment after death, whether our Lord would only mention this once." In the same section of the next chapter, he asks, "how is it to be rationally accounted for, that our Lord *only once* during his whole ministry, should say to the unbelieving Jews, 'how can ye escape the damnation of hell?' if by this he meant future eternal punishment?" The same question might be asked concerning Paradise as a place of happiness, although the *one* time that our Saviour used this word was in his dying hour. Yet it is evident that those who will thus limit the Holy One will not believe when all their arrogant demands are complied with: for his unbelief still continues, although, according to his own acknowledgment,* Gehenna is twice called in Mk. 9th, 'the fire that never shall be quenched.' He observes that "properly speaking, this expression occurs no less than five times; for it is three times said, by way of addition, 'where their worm dieth not and the fire is not quenched.'" In another place,† he appears to think that twelve repetitions are not sufficient to entitle their authors to credit. His words are the following; viz. "Admitting for the present, that it occurs twelve times, and in all these it is certainly used to express a place of eternal misery, it deserves notice, that this is not so often in the whole Bible, as it is used by many preachers in a single sermon;" and he might have added, as Mr. Balfour repeats this miserable subterfuge, in a single chapter.

*Chap. 1, Sect. 3.

† Chap. 1, Sect. 2.

UNIVERSALIST PRACTICE.

Having said thus much of their principles of interpretation, by which they have imposed upon themselves and others, a word or two concerning their practice may not be improper. Although their antagonists may accompany their scripture authorities with elaborate explanations and arguments, they scruple not to accuse them of quoting naked texts, without argument: yet when it suits their purpose, they can glory in perverting detached passages of scripture without explanation. In the 201st page of Mr. Ballou's Treatise on Atonement, he says "Time would fail me, to write one half that might be quoted from the prophets on this subject. I ask for no explanation, on their testimony; if what they say do not prove my doctrine, I will not have recourse to explanations." As he is a professed writer on dark sayings, proverbs and parables, he ought to know what was revealed to Solomon in the introduction to his Proverbs; where we are taught that it is the part of a learned man who has attained to "wise counsels, to understand a proverb, and the interpretation, the words of the wise and their dark sayings." My opponent, however, incorrectly attributes to me as a crime, the very thing of which his favourite boasts so vainly; and lest he should not be believed for the want of sufficient repetition he gives it to us often enough. He accuses his antagonist of stating texts "without any argument to prove his interpretation of them correct;" of bringing "text after text without attempting to prove his interpretation of them to be correct by fair argument;" of giving "passage after passage without any argument or explanation;" of giving "a continued series of quotations without any argument to prove the meaning which was attached to them." &c. &c. &c.* These groundless assertions appear intended to reduce his antagonist to a level with a man who repeatedly confesses that he has not wherewith to occupy his sluggish periods.

There is one very remarkable feature in the practice of my opponent. Sometimes he can scarcely converse, preach or print, without a perpetual recurrence to the dead languages. A sermon published by him this year, is quite richly interlarded with Hebrew. In this wonderful production, he tries to give the people some acquaintance with Hebrew radicals. In a note he informs them of the distinction in the

* Minutes pp. 272, 181, 216, 236, 77, 58.

genders of Hebrew nouns; and what must have been very important to those who did not know one letter from another, he informs them that "the reader, must read all Hebrew words from right to left."* He has referred† to debates which he has had in the Commissioner's Hall with laymen and apprentice boys. These men were more remarkable for honesty and good sense than for biblical literature. It is well known that he was in the habit of appealing to the original scriptures with such disputants as could not follow him thither. This he does in letters written to one of these apprentice boys, dated Feb. 14th and March 8th, of the present year. In the latter of these he parades his several Latin versions, the same literary ware, which, like a pedlar with his pins and needles and buttons and combs, he has displayed before this assembly. Having endeavoured in vain to weaken the confidence of his young correspondent in our common version, and to get him to adopt my opponent's new translation, which he ridiculously pretends is a correct translation of Griesbach's Greek Testament, he plainly lets him know in a letter of Feb. 16th, that he must admit Griesbach, of which he knew not one word, or their correspondence should close. "Then" says he, "have I put an end to this discussion."‡ After thus making the sacred originals a *sine qua non* to a discussion with a youth who knew nothing of them, he proposed to me, in the commencement of our dis-

* See his 18mo: Compendium of a Sermon, p. 13. Also, in the 126th page of the Minutes, Mr. Jennings has, in a note, given us a good deal of Greek and Hebrew, accompanied with the following instructions for those, who like, himself, could not read these languages, viz. "The Hebrew words which are written in the Hebrew characters, are read from right to left. These remarks may be of some use to the unlearned, and for them alone they are designed." As it is a notorious fact, and one which has been publicly acknowledged, that Mr. Jennings never read nor wrote a word of Hebrew or Greek in his life, it is easy to see that this note was penned by the same wisacre who wrote the Compendium of a Sermon. Yet Mr. Jennings begins the note by saying that "the Reporter writes the Hebrew without the points." This is a worthy disciple of a man who expects to teach unlearned readers to pronounce his "Hebrew words which are written in Hebrew characters" by simply telling them that these words "are read from right to left." It would not be a greater evidence of that imbecility to which the understanding is reduced by an overweening pedantry, if he were to expect a land-lubber to navigate a frigate from here to England, by being simply informed that he was to sail from West to East.

† Minutes p. 42.

‡ See "Letters of Correspondence between the Rev. Abner Kacchad and William Justice."

cussion, that we should lay them aside, and abide by our received Translation!*

REFUTATION.

The exposure now made of my opponent's canons of criticism, and his practice, and that of his brethren, in controverting the truth, may be considered an answer to a great part of what they preach and write on the question between us. Their doctrines remain unsupported, when their principles of interpretation are proved essentially wrong. That cause is always suspected, whose advocates frequently shift their ground; who fill up their time, not by answering their opponent's arguments, but by groundless complaints that he has none; and who make a great flourish of learning among the illiterate, and yet retreat from the light among those who can consult originals. That their cause ought to be suspected and condemned, that their doctrine is without evidence, will appear by a full and fair examination of the arguments advanced by themselves in its defence. With the help of God, this shall be done under the following heads. 1. The present character and sufferings of mankind. 2. The offer of salvation. 3. Arguments for a purgatory. 4. Restitution. 5. The Attributes of God. 6. His fatherly chastisements. 7. The will of God. 8. 9. 10. Christ's Prophetic, Kingly, and Priestly offices.

FIRST UNIVERSALIST ARGUMENT.

A writer of some name, against the Universalists, gives the following division of their sources of argument. "1. The universal goodness of God. 2. The universal atonement of Christ. 3. The universal offers of salvation. 4. The univer-

* In the Minutes pp. 256, 272, Mr. K. in opposition to his repeated declarations that I had no argument, acknowledges that there were some argument and some criticism on my part; yet he seems to think it "not necessary" for me "to say any thing more about the meaning of certain Greek words." Before the debate he was so anxious to make the *unlearned* acquainted with *aionion*, *hades*, *gehenna*, *tartarus*, and *snor*, that he could not wait to teach them the alphabet before he would have them reading from right to left. It is said that some of his followers were in the habit of escaping any argument or text, by crying, "Mr. Kneeland says it is not so in the Greek." At that time, he thought our Bible so imperfect as to need his New Translation and all his other critical labours. How much his mind was changed during the debate, will appear from an account of it which he published a few days after, in which he says scornfully "there was an *aionian* fight about the words *aion*, *aionion*, *עולם* &c. which was mostly lost to the audience, and which ended nearly where it commenced." He says moreover, "No rational man can believe any thing essential to salvation which is not *plainly* and *clearly* revealed, and which depends on something better than such equivocal terms for its support."

sal goodness of mankind. 5. Their universal punishment in this life." His two last divisions I make my first; because they are the weakest and the least relied upon by their advocates. A single case is not now recollected in which they have urged them at all; and if they were to insist that all men are good, we could only say with the Spirit, "there is none good;" and the same Spirit declares that some sins shall not be forgiven; "neither in this world, neither in the world to come;" so that punishment in this world, whether partial or universal, does not preclude a future punishment.

SECOND UNIVERSALIST ARGUMENT.

The argument drawn from the offer of salvation cannot be more fairly treated than by admitting that salvation is offered to all who hear the gospel, and are willing to be saved in God's appointed way. But the *mere invitation* to the supper mentioned in Luke 14th, did not avail those who made excuses, and concerning whom it was said, "that none of those which were bidden shall taste of my supper."

THIRD UNIVERSALIST ARGUMENT.

As it is a fact that many Universalists advocate a sort of purgatory, a concise notice will be taken of those texts which are erroneously thought to countenance that doctrine.

1. Isa. 4: 4. "When the Lord shall have washed away the filth of the daughters of Zion, and shall have *purged* the blood of Jerusalem from the midst thereof by the spirit of judgment and the spirit of burning." This is explained in Isa. 31: 9. 48: 10, where it is declared that the Lord's "fire is in Zion and his furnace in Jerusalem;" and that his people are *chosen*, or as some copies have it, they are *tried*, "in the furnace of affliction."

2. Zech. 9: 11. "As for thee also, by the blood of thy Covenant; I have sent forth thy prisoners out of the pit wherein is no water." Concerning a temporal captivity, Isa. 51: 14, uses the following similar language. "The captive exile hasteneth that he may be loosed, and that he should not die in the pit, nor that his bread should fail." The Israelites owed to the blood of the Great Covenant Sacrifice, their deliverance from Egypt and Babylon as well as their preservation from Tophet.

3. 1 Cor. 3: 13-15. "Every man's work shall be made manifest, for the day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by fire, and the fire shall try every man's work, of what sort it is. If any man's work abideth, which he hath

built thereupon, he shall receive a reward. If any man's work shall be burnt, he shall suffer loss; but he himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire." The following are verses 9, 12. "For we are labourers together with God. Ye are God's husbandry, ye are God's building. Now if any man build upon this foundation, gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble." Here the officers of the church are said to build it up of good and bad members. When the building is assailed by the fire of persecution, the wood, hay, and stubble are consumed; that is, hypocrites apostatize, while the faithful pastor and the sound members, the gold, silver, and precious stones, endure the flame, and shall be saved or refined and preserved, yet so as by or through the fire.

4. 1 Pet. 3: 9, "By whom," (that is, the Spirit, see verse 18,) "By whom also he went and preached unto the Spirits in prison." That these spirits were in hell at the time of the Apostle's writing is agreed. But that they were in prison when the Spirit of a long-suffering God preached salvation to them, is disputed on the authority of the next verse, which confines the long-suffering of God in respect of them, to the days of Noah, and confines the salvation of God to the few, that is to the eight souls which were in the ark, Verse 20, "which [spirits now in prison] sometime [that is long ago] were disobedient, when once [that is long ago] the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was a preparing, wherein few, that is eight souls were saved by water." If salvation was preached to them in hell or after their death, why should the long-suffering of God be thus restricted in their case, to "the days of Noah while the ark was a preparing?"

FOURTH UNIVERSALIST ARGUMENT.

Mr. Ballou,* in shewing "that all will be brought, finally, to the enjoyment of spiritual life and peace," says, "There is a passage in Acts 3: 20, 21, which reads very literally in proof of my argument. 'And he shall send Jesus Christ, which before was preached unto you, whom the heaven must receive until the times of restitution of all things, which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began.' As the word *apokatastasis*† here rendered *restitution*, occurs only once in the New Testament, and not once in the Septuagint, there may appear great room for fanciful and erroneous interpretations. Yet in the 70 of

* Treatise on Atonement, p. 193.

† ἀποκατάστασις

Amos 5: 15, we find a conjugate used in connection with the judgment of civil courts on earth, in exactly the same meaning which the word has in Acts 3: 21, in relation to the judgment of the last day. The prophet says, "Hate evil and love good, KAI APOKATASTHSETE EN PULAIS KRIMA;† *and establish judgment in the gates.*" In Acts 1:11, it is said that Christ "shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven." In the passage in question, it is said that the Lord shall send him; and that this sending and coming shall be at the period of the *restitution*, or *constitution*, or *establishment*, or *settlement*, or *consummation* of all things. In 1 Cor. 15: 24, 25, we find that one feature of this important settlement is the restitution of "the kingdom to God, even the Father;" and another is, shall we say a restitution of all enemies to the bosom of the Redeemer? No; but at that period, he shall have "put all enemies under his feet;" "and these shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal." It is true that Mr. Ballou and my opponent who quote this prophecy of Peter concerning the restitution of all things, deny that a general judgment shall ever take place. But the same Apostle* has predicted this denial also, when he says "that there shall come in the last days, scoffers, walking after their own lusts, and saying, where is the promise of his coming?"

FIFTH UNIVERSALIST ARGUMENT.

As it is believed that God's holiness, justice and truth require the eternal punishment of incorrigible offenders, and that the scriptures limit the application of his love, mercy, and grace accordingly, the consideration of these attributes shall be postponed to my first argument in favour of future punishment. We shall in the mean time attend to what is urged from God's fore-knowledge, his immutability, and his being the God of universal creation and providence. Although Winchester† thinks that the argument from God's universal providence "has weight in it," and professes to give the authority of—1st, the American Indians, and 2dly, the Apostle Paul, in support of it; yet he says, "this I do not insist upon." It is hoped, therefore, that I shall be excused from insisting upon a sophism which can as well refute the doctrine of present suffering, as of eternal punishment. As he supports the argument from the universal creation only by a perversion of

* 2 Pet. 3: 3, 4.

† KAI APOKATASTHSETE EN PULAIS KRIMA

‡ His Universal Restoration, dialogue 4th.

Isa. 57: 16, which is a promise to the church of Christ, that passage may be attended to among others of the same description, under the 9th argument, to which it properly belongs.

In Mr. Winchester's 4th dialogue, he professes to display the strong holds of Universalism. 1. God is the universal and only creator of all. 2. The universal benevolence of the Deity, or love of God to his creatures. 3. Christ died for all. 4. The unchangeableness of God. 5. The immutability of God's counsels. 6. God hath given all things into the hand of Christ. 7. The scriptures must be fulfilled; the scriptures cannot be broken.*

The 3d of these arguments will be my last. The 6th, the one before the last. The 1st and 2d have been already postponed. The texts under his 5th head shall be generally considered under my 7th and 9th. To his 4th, 5th, and 7th, it may now be briefly answered that because we believe in the truth of God's word, and the immutability of the counsels of an unchangeable God, therefore we declare that the wicked "shall go into *everlasting* punishment, and the righteous into *everlasting* life:" for this is declared by that God whose nature and counsels cannot change, and by those scriptures which "cannot be broken."

The argument from the fore-knowledge of God has, notwithstanding its daring impiety, been urged very much, to my own knowledge, even by the followers of Winchester, who are generally esteemed the better sort of Universalists, and sometimes appear to be almost christians. Mr. Ballou declares that if "the Almighty" knew "before he made man" "that he would deserve an endless punishment," "*it proves that an infinite cruelty existed in God!*" The only reason why this profane language is repeated, is that it has been taken for solid argument, by some who did not consider that if it be cruel to fore-know eternal punishment, it must be cruel, only in a less degree, to fore-know temporal suffering, without preventing it. "Man is born to trouble as the sparks fly upward." The God of providence foresees all his temporal sins and sorrows,† and the God of judgment fore-knows all his eternal sins and sufferings:‡ yet this does not attach an infinite degree, no the least degree of cruelty to the immaculate character of Jehovah: and that blasphemer who can say that it does, needs

* Did Mr. Jennings, in the 22d page of his Report, give me this last argument, to make me talk as childishly as Mr. Winchester?

† 2 Kings, 8, 12 13.

‡ Matt. 25; 41, 45.

not a mark in his forehead to convince all tender christians that he is an enemy to revealed religion.

SIXTH UNIVERSALIST ARGUMENT.

Fatherly Chastisements. My opponent has quoted the following passages. Job. 5: 17. "Behold! happy is the man whom God correcteth, therefore despise not the chastening of the Almighty." Prov. 3: 12. "For whom the Lord loveth he correcteth, even as a father the son in whom he delighteth."* My opponent observes,† "although the Father of all mercies has said [Ps. 89: 32, 33,] that he will visit the transgressions of his children 'with the rod, and their iniquity with stripes,' he adds, 'nevertheless, my loving kindness will I not utterly take from him, nor suffer my faithfulness to fail.' And again, Hebr. 12: 9—11, 'Furthermore, we have had fathers of our flesh which corrected us, and we gave them reverence; shall we not much rather be in subjection unto the Father of our spirits, and live? For they verily for a few days chastened us after their own pleasure; but he for our profit, that we might be partakers of his holiness. Now no chastening for the present, seemeth to be joyous but grievous; nevertheless afterward it yieldeth the peaceable fruit of righteousness unto them which are exercised thereby.'" The inference which my opponent would have us draw from these and similar passages is, that none can be punished forever, because this would be to their inexpressible injury; whereas in these texts, God is represented as viewing all mankind in the light of children, and as correcting them in loving kindness, that they may be profited by a growth in holiness, righteousness and happiness.

But in each of the chapters from which the above texts are taken, there is evidence that these things are said of the pious and not of all mankind. In Job 5: 12—14, we find that he who corrects his children for their good, also "taketh the wise in their own craftiness; and the counsel of the froward is carried headlong." In Prov. 3: 32—35, we find that "the froward is abomination to the Lord;" "the curse of the Lord is in the house of the wicked;" "he scorneth the scorner;" "shame shall be the promotion of fools;" and in other passages of scripture, this shame is said to be "a perpetual shame," and an "everlasting confusion."‡ In the 89th

* Minutes, p. 140.

† Minutes, p. 180.

‡ Jer. 20: 11. 23: 40.

Psalm* we are taught that God's children whom he corrects are those who know the joyful sound of justice and judgment; mercy and truth; who walk in the light of his countenance; who rejoice in his name all the day; and are exalted in his righteousness, and not their own: that is, they are persons who are justified, adopted and sanctified through grace. Concerning others he says in verse 10th, "thou hast scattered thine enemies with thy strong arm." Hebrews 12: 8, tells us that these enemies are not children but bastards, and are therefore let alone, as Ephraim was when joined to his idols. Verses 5th and 7th imply, as many other scriptures plainly declare, that these bastards do not endure the chastening of the Lord either with reverence or fortitude, but first despise it and then faint under it; whereas his children are supported under it, and profited by it.

SEVENTH UNIVERSALIST ARGUMENT.

The will of God. As we are now entering upon the strong holds of Universalism, in which time and labour must be spent to present their system in the most advantageous light, let it be remarked that when, in the name of the adversary, the orthodox are charged with denying scripture, it is not to be understood that the charge is admitted on our part: neither are the Universalists to be understood as making this confession, when, either now or hereafter, I lay such errors at their door. With this explanation, it may be said that the orthodox limit to a part of mankind, that "good will towards men" which the angels, at the birth of Christ, proclaimed to belong "to all people."† Orthodoxy says that God wills the death of the sinner; but in Ez. 33: 11. 18: 23. 32, "I have no *pleasure* in the death of him that dieth, saith the Lord God, wherefore turn yourselves and live ye." The scriptures say in 2 Pet. 3: 9. "The Lord is not slack concerning his promise, as some men count slackness, but is long suffering to us ward, not *willing* that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance." Does not Orthodoxy say, that he is willing that many should be lost without repentance? The Bible assures us in 1 Tim. 2: 4, that God "*will* have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth:" Whereas Orthodoxy says that he *will* have only some men to be saved, and the rest to perish without knowledge. In vain will they endeavour to escape the force of these declarations by distin-

* See verses 14—16, 28—36.

† Luke 2: 10, 14.

guishing between God's secret and revealed will, for he does not contradict himself and speak deceitfully: and as to their admission that it is his will of precept only, and not his will of purpose that all men should be saved, is not this in direct opposition to his own word, in Eph. 1: 9—11, where it is said that he hath "made known unto us his *will*, according to his *good pleasure* which he hath *purposed* in himself, that in the dispensation of the fulness of times, he might gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in Heaven, and which are on Earth, even in him; in whom also we have obtained an inheritance, being *predestinated* according to the *purpose* of him who worketh all things after the *counsel* of his own *will*." Here God is said to gather together in one all things in Christ. Does not this mean that he will save all men? But this is said to be according to his *will*; "according to his *good pleasure* which he hath *purposed* in himself;" according to his *purpose* of *predestination*, and the *counsel* of his own *will*."* On these grounds we confidently argue that God's will of purpose is always accomplished;—that it is his will of *purpose* that all men, universally shall be saved;—and that therefore, all men universally shall be saved.

The texts already adduced are given in proof that it is God's will of purpose that all men universally shall be saved. The only difficulty therefore which can remain is, to prove that his will of purpose is always accomplished. But this is acknowledged by the standards of the Orthodox, and the above passage from Ephesians which says that God "worketh all things after the counsel of his own will" is produced by the Presbyterian Confession of Faith, Chapter 3, Section 5, to prove it. To support the 1st Section of the same Chapter they have quoted Romans 9: 15, 18, also, which is much to our purpose. "I will have mercy on whom I *will* have mercy, and I will have compassion on whom I *will* have compassion." "Therefore hath he mercy on whom he *will* have mercy." Speaking of God's creatures, the 2nd section of the 2nd chapter declares that he "hath most sovereign dominion over them, to do by them, for them, and upon them, whatsoever himself pleaseth." In support of this most certain truth, they quote Dan. 4: 25, 35. "The Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he *will*; and all the inhabitants of the earth are reputed as nothing; and he

* For John 6: 39, see argument 9th, to which it belongs in common with the seventh.

† The Universalists.

doeth according to his *will* in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth, and none can stay his hand, or say unto him, what doest thou?" God says, in Isa. 46: 10, "My *counsel* shall stand, and I will do all my *pleasure*." God's will of purpose is the desire of his heart, the determination of his divine mind. It is sovereign and immutable and cannot be thwarted. Job, 23: 13, "He is in one mind, and who can turn him? and what his soul desireth, even that he doeth."

In answering the above argument, the Orthodox need not oppose the sovereignty of God. Most conscientiously do I agree with the Bible and the Confession of Faith, that his will of purpose is always accomplished. But although my opponent at this moment, professes the same doctrine, to serve a turn, he has in other stages of the debate, filled up his wearisome minutes by holding it up to the derision of the audience. Neither shall I explain the above texts by saying, as Mr. Bal-lou has attributed to us,* that they are "expressive of God's *revealed* will, but not of his *secret* will; arguing that his revealed will is in direct opposition to a will which he has seen fit not to reveal." His revealed word, though not a full development of his secret will, is nevertheless perfectly consistent with it. Yet as his commands are often broken, and thus his mandatory will not always fulfilled, it is called his will of *precept* to distinguish it from his will of *purpose* which is ever fulfilled. For this distinction we have plain authority in many scriptures where there is a certain *will* of God which is expressly declared not to be done. Luke 12: 47. "And that servant which knew his Lord's *will* and prepared not himself, neither did according to his *will*." Matt. 21: 31. "Whether of them twain did the *will* of his father? They say unto him the first." It is plainly implied that the second did not. Now that *will* of God which this second son did not perform, and which the above mentioned servant did not perform, cannot be the desire of his heart, or the determination of his soul, or his *will of purpose*, because this is always performed: but it must be his law, or his commandments of whatsoever description, which we therefore call his will of *precept* and which, though like their author, holy, just and good, are often disregarded. It is to this that our Saviour must have referred when, in weeping over Jerusalem, he said "how oft did I *will*," (as it is literally rendered,) "how oft did I *will* to

* On Atonement p. 202.

gather thy children together as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye *would* not!" Because of their "*would not*," his *precepts* were disregarded, while his divine *purposes* were accomplished in their just destruction. So it is with regard to most of the texts quoted concerning the *will* of God for the salvation of all. In Ez. 18: 32, God took no *pleasure* in the death of him that dieth; yet he did die, as every persevering unbeliever must forever. In the next authority quoted, the Apostle Peter tells us* that "the Lord is not *willing* that any should perish." If this were his *will of purpose*, none would ever perish: yet the same Apostle tells us in the same epistle† that some, "as natural brute beasts, made to be taken and destroyed, speak evil of the things that they understand not, and shall utterly *perish* in their own corruption." The Apostle Paul tells us‡ that "the preaching of the cross is to them that *perish* foolishness." But Peter tells us moreover that it is God's will "that all should come to repentance." If this be the desire of his heart, then all must and will *repent*; but if it be only his *will of precept*, some may violate this will, and remain impenitent. That this is the fact, Paul teaches;§ "For it is impossible for those who were once enlightened" "if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto *repentance*." Therefore this will of God that they should repent, must be his *command*. This is so evidently the meaning of such passages, that M'Knight, who is generally very cautious in admitting any important truth, manifests on this subject an unusual degree of candour and even gives the word *command* instead of *will* in his translation of 1 Tim. 2: 4. "Who *commandeth* all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth." If it were not his *precept* but the determination of his soul, all men would be saved, and all would come to the knowledge of the truth. But God says, in Hosea 4: 6, "My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge;" and in John 5: 29, "they shall come forth, they that have done good unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil unto the resurrection of damnation." Since, therefore, some are damned and not saved; since some are destroyed for lack of knowledge instead of coming to the knowledge of the truth, God's will on this subject must be that of *precept* and not of *purpose*. The same doctrine is established by Rom. 9: 15, 18,

* 2 Peter 3: 9.

† 2 Pet. 2: 12.

‡ 1 Cor. 1: 18.

§ Heb. 6: 4-6.

quoted against us, let the will of God in that passage be understood as it may. After saying that God hath "mercy on whom he will have mercy," the Apostle adds by way of contrast, "and whom he will, he hardeneth."

The only remaining text advanced against us under this head of argument, is Eph. 1: 9—11, where it is said, "that in the dispensation of the fulness of times, he might gather together in one, all things in Christ, both which are in heaven, and which are on earth, even in him." This gathering of all things in Christ, is acknowledged to be according to God's *will of purpose*, as asserted by my opponent, and proved by the verses immediately preceding and following the 10th just now quoted. On this subject there is no dispute, and my opponent might have saved himself much unnecessary labour* by passing it over as a thing admitted by both parties. The only question is, what is meant by this gathering of all things in Christ which is to take place in the dispensation of the fulness of times? My opponent has identified it with "the times of restitution of all things,"† already explained in our 5th Universalist argument. If this be correct, and I believe it is, then this gathering of all things in Christ is that restoring, constituting, establishing, or settling of all things, which shall take place at the general judgment, when there shall be a restoring of "the kingdom to God, even the Father," and when he shall "put all enemies under his feet." Not only is the innumerable multitude of the redeemed called "all things," by the Apostle, but in this same chapter, he speaks of these enemies upon whom he tramples, by the same general description of "all things." Verses 22, 23. "And hath put *all things* under his feet, and gave him to be the Head over *all things* to the church, which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all." Here are two very different classes of mankind, and each of them is called "all things." The first "all things" which our heavenly conqueror puts under his feet, we are informed by the same Apostle in 1 Cor. 15: 25, constitutes the body of his *enemies*. The second "all things" constitutes, "the church which is his body;" "for we are members of his body, of his flesh and his bones," as the same epistle declares.‡ Now although we read of Christ gathering the members of the church invisible into his arms as the shepherd does the lambs,

* Minutes, pp. 292, 293.

† Minutes p. 293.

‡ 5: 30.

and of his placing them, in the great day of restitution, on his right hand, as sheep, we never once read of his putting them under his feet. The scriptures expressly inform us that this treatment is given to *enemies*, both by God and man.

The amount of this authority which has been cited against us, when taken with its context, appears to be this; that it is God's will of purpose that when the trump of judgment shall sound, Christ's mystical body which was before divided, a part being in heaven and a part on the earth, shall be gathered in one, and that those who have not obtained that predestinated inheritance, mentioned in the 11th verse, shall according to the 22nd, be put under his feet. The argument then, from that class of texts which relates to the will of God, instead of proving Universal Salvation, proves only that the invisible church, the body of believers, shall be saved, while the synagogue of Satan, the enemies of the Divine Redeemer, shall be lost forever. The Apostle's saying, as in the 10th verse, that God will gather "all things" in Christ, is no better evidence for universal salvation, than his saying, as in verse 22nd, that he shall put "all things" under his feet, is proof of universal damnation. But as the scriptures are consistent and not contradictory, we may and ought to explain this to mean, as the Bible uniformly declares, that he that believeth shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned.

EIGHTH UNIVERSALIST ARGUMENT.

Christ's Prophetic Office.—When he speaks to his followers of his being with them, he says, in John 12: 35, "the light is with you;" that is, with the Jews: but in Acts 26: 18, he sends Paul to the Gentiles, "to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light." In Luke 1: 79, he is said "to give light to them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death;" and in Luke 2: 32, he is called "a light to lighten thy Gentiles and the glory of thy people Israel." Neither does this light shine in vain, but it dispels the darkness, and illuminates the world universally.* It is said, in 1 John, 2: 8, "the darkness is past, and the true light now shineth." In Ephes. 1: 8, it is written, "ye were sometimes darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord." On this subject Mr. Ballou† quotes Isa. 49: 6. "And he said, it is a light thing that thou shouldest be my servant to raise up the tribes

* Say the Universalists.

† On Atonement, p. 200.

of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel ; I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my *salvation* unto the ends of the earth." To the same amount, Mr. Murray repeatedly* quotes Habb. 2: 14, "For the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of God, as the waters cover the sea." But none appears more pointed than John 1: 9, "That was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world."† Compare this with the 4th verse, and you will see that this is a quickening, saving light. "In him was life, and the life was the light of men." In the text just quoted from Isaiah, this light is identified with *salvation*. In Acts 26: 18, we are taught that turning them from darkness to light, is the same as turning "them from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified." Now let it be observed that in consequence of this saving light, the above authorities prove that "the darkness is past," that those who "were sometimes darkness," are now "light in the Lord;" that "the earth shall be filled with" this light, even "unto the ends of the earth;" embracing Jews and Gentiles, even "every man that cometh into the world." The amount of the evidence is this;—Christ saves all whom he enlightens;—but he enlightens all universally;—Therefore all universally shall be saved.

A great portion of the plausibility of the above argument is owing to the texts being detached from their connection. Examine them as they are found in the Bible, and the illusion vanishes. It will then appear that the minor proposition of the above syllogism is unsupported in scripture. It is hardly necessary to mention that a more correct translation, probably, of John 1: 19 is "That was the true light, which coming into the world, enlighteneth every man." Certain it is, that his coming into the world is recognized in all the passages quoted, as the occasion of this extraordinary diffusion of light. Its being extraordinary at his advent, is itself a denial of its antecedent universality. At his coming, it is said "the darkness is past," but before he came "to turn them from darkness to light," the nations had sat for four thousand years "in darkness and the shadow of death;" and in this moral darkness, many millions had passed, without hope or comfort, "through the dark valley and shadow of

* Universalism Vindicated, pp. 49, 75.

† John 6; 45, is not here noticed, because it was more convenient to give in the 5th argument the force of the word *all* on which the Universalist cause hangs.

death." When he told his followers, "The light is with you," as in the first text quoted in their favour, he let them know, that, as it had lately come, it would soon disappear, unless they profited by it. "Then Jesus said unto them, yet *"a little while is the light with you: walk while ye have the light, lest darkness come upon you: for he that walketh in darkness, knoweth not whither he goeth. While ye have the light believe in the light, that ye may be children of light."** From this it would appear that even after the light has come, men are liable to walk in darkness and be children of darkness; and that this will be their character; unless they *believe in the light*. In the second authority quoted in their favour,† Christ promises "to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins, and an inheritance among them which are *sanctified by faith that is in me*." These last words deny the universality of this light, unless it can be shewn that all men living, or at least, all men dying, are *sanctified by faith* in Christ. The same is taught in the context of the passage from John,‡ "But as many as *received* him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that *believe* on his name: which are *born*, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of *God*." But did they all believe on him? Did they all receive him? The context says,§ "the light shineth in darkness; and the darkness comprehended it not." "He came unto his own, and his own received him not." Are those persons enlightened who hate their brother,¶ or who refuse to receive Christ and his Gospel? "To the law and to the testimony: if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is *no light* in them."** "In that day shall the deaf hear the words of the *Book* [precious book!] and the eyes of the blind shall see out of obscurity, and out of darkness."†† But this same prophet Isaiah,‡‡ pronounces a *woe* upon some in his day, who, like my opponent, took "darkness for light, and light for darkness." To such our Saviour says,§§ "if therefore, the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness!" This rejection of the

* John 12; 35, 36.

† Acts 26; 18.

‡ John 1; 12, 13.

§ Verses 5, 11.

¶ 4 John 2; 9.

** Isa. 8; 20.

†† Isa. 29; 18.

§§ Matt. 6; 23.

‡‡ Isa. 5; 20.

light, and evil-eyed perversion of the truth, he declares to be a subject of just condemnation, and a proper cause of eternal punishment. "And this is the condemnation, that light "is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than "light, because their deeds were evil."* "Then said the "King to the servant, bind him hand and foot, and take "him away, and cast him into *outer darkness*; there shall "be weeping and gnashing of teeth."† "Raging waves of the "sea, foaming out their own shame; wandering stars, to "whom is reserved *the blackness of darkness forever*."‡ If all men universally are savingly enlightened, how comes it that some "are in darkness, even until now?"§ that some have "no light in them?" that there are some who take darkness for light? some whose very light is darkness, and *great darkness*? How comes it that there are some whose *condemnation* is, that they have "loved darkness rather than light?" and whose punishment is, that they are to be cast "into outer darkness," and into "the blackness of darkness FOREVER?"

NINTH UNIVERSALIST ARGUMENT.

Christ's Kingly Office.—Do not the Scriptures represent Christ as destroying the works of the Devil, and trampling all evil under his feet? "For this purpose, the Son of God "was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the "Devil."¶ "He hath put *all enemies under his feet*. The "last enemy that shall be destroyed is death. For he hath "put *all things under his feet*." "Behold I shew you a mystery: we shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed, "in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump: "for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised "incorruptible, and we shall be changed. For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on "immortality. So when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on immortality, "then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, death "is swallowed up in victory. Oh death! where is thy sting? O "grave! where is thy victory? The sting of death is sin, and "the strength of sin is the law; but thanks be to God, who "giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ."**

* John 9; 19.

† Matt. 22; 13.

‡ Jude 13.

§ 1 John, 2; 9.

¶ 1 John, 3; 8.

** 1 Cor. 15; 25—27. 51—57.

"Thou madest him to have dominion over the works of thy hands; thou hast put *all things under his feet*."* "Thou hast put *all things in subjection under his feet*. For in that he put all in subjection under him, he left nothing that is not put under him. But now we see not yet all things put under him."

While he thus wages a war of extermination against sin of which he is not the author, does he not cease to contend with the souls which he *has* made? Mr. Winchester's text on the universality of God's creation, postponed from my fifth Universalist argument to this place, says, "For I will not contend forever, neither will I be always wroth; for the spirit should fail before me, and the souls which I have made."† To this he might have added Ps. 86: 9, "*All nations whom thou hast made shall come and worship before thee*." Although he will not contend forever, he says‡ "I have loved thee with an everlasting love." As there is no end to his love, so "of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end."§ "In his days shall the righteous flourish, and abundance of peace as long as the moon endureth. He shall have dominion also from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth. They that dwell in the wilderness shall bow before him, and his enemies shall lick the dust." "All kings shall fall before him, all nations shall serve him" "He shall redeem their soul from deceit and violence, and precious shall be their blood in his sight." "Men shall be blessed in him: all nations shall call him blessed."¶

Are not the unlimited extent and the happy results of the Saviour's dominion plainly revealed in Rom. 8: 19—24? "For the earnest expectation of the creature waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God. For the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same in hope; because the creature itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God. For we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now. And not only they but ourselves also, which have the first fruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves, groan within ourselves, waiting for the adoption to wit, the redemption of our body. For we are saved by hope: but hope that is seen is not hope: for

* Ps. 8: 6.

† Isa. 57: 16. ‡ Jer. 31: 3. § Isa. 9: 7. ¶ Ps. 72: 7—9. 11. 14. 17.

"what a man seeth, why doth he yet hope for?" On the same subject, is it not sung by the myriads on high, "And every creature which is in Heaven, and on the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them, heard I saying, blessing and honour, and glory and power, be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb forever and ever.*

In Hebr. 1: 2. he is declared to be "Heir of all things." "I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance."† He himself declares "all things are delivered unto me of my Father." "The Father loveth the Son, and hath given all things into his hands." "Thou hast given him power over all flesh, that he should give eternal life to as many as thou hast given him." "And this is the Father's will which hath sent me, that of all which he hath given me, I should lose nothing, but should raise it up again at the last day."‡

According to the tenor of this universal transfer to Christ, it is written, "All the ends of the earth shall remember and turn unto the Lord, and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before thee. For the kingdom is the Lord's, and he is the Governor among the nations. All they that be fat upon earth shall eat and worship: all they that go down to the dust shall bow before him, and none can keep alive his own soul."¶ "And there was given him dominion and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed."*** "Look unto me and be ye saved, *all the ends of the earth*; †† for I am God, and there is none else. I have sworn by myself, the word is gone out of my mouth in righteousness, and shall not return, that unto me *every knee* shall bow, *every tongue* shall swear. Surely shall one say, in the Lord have I righteousness and strength: even to him shall men come; and *all* that are incensed against him shall be ashamed. In the Lord shall *all* the seed of Israel be justified, and shall glory."‡‡ "Wherefore God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above *every* name:

*Rev. 5; 13.

† Ps. 2; 8.

‡ Matt. 11; 27. Luke 10; 22. John 3; 35. 13; 3. 17; 2. 6; 39.

¶ Ps. 22; 27—29.

** Dan. 7; 14.

‡‡ See Argument 2d.

†† Ism. 45; 22—25.

"that at the name of Jesus, *every knee* should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth, and that *every tongue* should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father."* "For the Father judgeth *no man*, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son; that *all men* should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father."†

It is expressly declared that "God sent not his Son into the world, to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved." "I came not to judge the world, but to save the world."‡ "But Israel shall be saved in the Lord with an everlasting salvation: ye shall not be ashamed nor confounded world without end."¶ "No weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper; and every tongue that shall rise against thee in judgment thou shalt condemn. This is the heritage of the servants of the Lord, and their righteousness is of me, saith the Lord."**

Although the number and aggravation of their offences may increase their necessities, can they hinder the mercy of God? "They that be whole need not a physician, but they that are sick. But go ye and learn what that meaneth, I will have mercy, and not sacrifice: for I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance."†† "This is a faithful saying and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief." "Who was before a blasphemer, and a persecutor, and injurious; but I obtained mercy, because I did it ignorantly in unbelief."k "Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord: though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool."

In fact, the end of Christ's coming, and of the preaching of his gospel is to deliver men from sin and sorrow. "And thou shalt call his name Jesus; for he shall save his people from their sins."x "For the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus, hath made me free from the law of sin and death."z "The Lord hath sent me to preach good tidings unto the meek; he hath sent me to bind up the broken hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound."q "Stand fast, therefore, in the liberty

* Phil. 2: 9-11.

† John 8: 17, 19; 47.

** Isa. 54: 17.

k 1 Tim. 1. 15, 13.

z Rom. 8. 2.

† John 5: 22, 23.

¶ Isa. 45: 17.

†† Matt. 9. 12, 13.

x Matt. 1. 21.

q Isa. 61. 1.

"wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage."*

All being thus relieved from sin, they are from misery also. "And in this mountain shall the Lord of Hosts make unto *all people* a feast of fat things, a feast of wines on the lees, of fat things full of marrow, of wines on the lees well refined. And he will destroy in this mountain the face of the covering cast over *all people*, and the vail that is spread over *all nations*. He will swallow up death in victory; and the Lord God will wipe away tears from off *all faces*; and the rebuke of his people shall be taken away from off *all the earth*; for the Lord hath spoken it."† "And God shall wipe away *all tears* from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow nor crying, neither shall there be *any more pain*: for the former things are past away."‡

To the foregoing authorities which one would suppose universal enough, we add the following; which, as well as those already recited, are found scattered among the rubbish of my opponent and other Universalist authors, some in one and some in another, but in none of them brought to a focus, and presented in that perfection of perversion of which they are susceptible.

Our Saviour, in prospect of his crucifixion, says "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me."§ The Patriarch Jacob said, "unto him shall the gathering of the people be."** "That he might gather together in one all things in Christ."†† "Who shall *change* our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body, according to the working whereby he is able even to *subdue all things* unto himself."‡‡ "For it pleased the Father that in him should all fulness dwell. And (having made peace through the blood of his cross,) by him to *reconcile all things* to himself; by him, I say, whether they be *things in earth* or *things in heaven*."§ "Thus saith the Lord God; I will also take of the highest branch of the high cedar, and will set it; I will crop off from the top of his young twigs a tender one, and will plant it upon an high mountain and eminent: in the mountain of the height of Israel will I plant it: and it shall bring forth boughs, and bear fruit, and be a goodly cedar; and *under it shall dwell all fowl of every wing*; *in the shadow* of the branches thereof shall they dwell. And

* Gal. 5. 1.

† Rev. 21. 4.

** Gen. 49. 10.

†† Phil. 3. 21.

† Isa. 25. 6—8.

§ John 12: 32.

†† Eph. 1. 10.

§ Col. 1. 19, 20.

"all the trees of the field shall know that I the Lord have brought down the high tree, have dried up the green tree, and have made the dry tree to flourish."* "He that descended is the same also that ascended up far above all heavens, that he might fill all things."† "For God hath concluded them all in unbelief, that he might have mercy upon all."‡ "And the scripture foreseeing that God would justify the heathen through faith, preached before the gospel unto Abraham, saying, in thee shall all nations be blessed."§ "Now to Abraham and his seed were the promises made. He saith not and to seeds, as of many; but as of one, and to thy seed, which is Christ."§ "And I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee: and in thee shall all families of the earth be blessed." "And in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed, because thou hast obeyed my voice."**

Thus we† see that Christ came to destroy the works of the devil, so that death itself shall be swallowed up in victory. He came to put all evil under his feet. He came not to condemn the world but to save it; not to call the righteous but sinners, even the chief of sinners. He came to put an end to sins, and their consequent sorrows. He came to show mercy to all; to draw, gather, and subdue all; to change,‡† reconcile, and protect all; to fill, justify and bless all. There shall be no end to the increase of his government. He delivers the whole creation from corruption. Every creature in heaven and in the earth, and under the earth, all the ends of the earth, all kindreds of mankind, all fowls of every wing, all the trees of the field, all people, nations, languages, and tongues shall confess and praise, worship, bow, and kneel before him, and honor him as they honour the Father. He will cease to contend forever, but will exercise an everlasting love; so that men shall not be ashamed nor confounded world without end. He bestows righteousness and strength, glory and salvation, on all followers, servants, or children whom he claims, and whom the Father has given him;—But the Father has given him, and he claims for his followers, all men universally;—Therefore all men universally shall be saved.

In answer to the argument just given, it may be observed that the major proposition of the syllogism with which it

* Ex. 17. 22—24.

† Eph. 4. 70.

‡ Rom. 11. 32.

§ Gal. 3. 8, 16.

** Gen. 12. 3, 22. 18.

†† The Universalists.

‡‡ This changing relates to the bodies of God's people.

closes, is so entirely acceptable to the most rigidly Orthodox, that it has the appearance of being manufactured to suit their taste. This is a mistake. My opponent often declares that Christ came not to save men in their sins, but from their sins; they must therefore be followers, servants and children: and Mr. Ballou actually quotes at large,* the passage from Isaiah given in the foregoing argument, in which it is written, "surely shall one say, in the Lord have I righteousness and strength." "In the Lord shall all the seed of Israel be justified and shall glory."

Equal justice is done to them in the statement of the minor proposition, about which we differ. In order for them to support this, and thus legitimate the conclusion, it will not suffice for them to prove that Christ is King of nations or the King of the universe; this is admitted: but they must prove that all men universally are his willing subjects, his worthy followers. If, instead of this, it should be found that some of their authorities only prove Christ's universal dominion over friends and foes, saved and lost; and that others prove only a part of mankind, such as those who have their righteousness and strength in the Lord, to be given to him and claimed by him as his followers, the conclusion falls.

There is much stress laid upon Rom. 8: 19—24, in which the word *creature* or *creation*† (an extensive word) is used four times. It is said that this *whole creation* was involuntarily subjected to vanity, and that it "groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now;" but that, "in hope," it "waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God;" and "shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God." It is here declared that the *whole creation* sympathizes with man in the corruption, toil and pain consequent upon the fall, and shall participate with the children of God in their glorious emancipation. As the whole human race fell in Adam, and as the Universalists say that the whole human race shall be children of God, therefore they say that the whole creation here means the whole human race universally, and exclusive of every other sort of creature. Their system depends upon this unauthorized interpretation. So far from its being used for all *men* to the exclusion of the inferior creation, in the only two instances, in which it occurs in the Septuagint,‡ it means irrational creatures to the exclusion of the human race. That the Apostle Paul did not

* On Atonement p. 214.

† 2 Chr. 14. 15. Ezr. 8. 21.

‡ Genesis

intend it as synonymous with *the children of God* is evident from the express distinction which he makes between *them* and the whole creation, in the passage under consideration. After telling us in the 22d verse, that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth, he says in the 23d, "*and not only they, but ourselves also*, which have the first fruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves." That he did not use *the whole creation* to embrace every child of Adam, is plain from Col. 1: 23; where he declares that even in his day, the gospel "was preached in the whole creation."§ In this place, and in Romans 8th, it appears to signify *the whole earth*: that earth which, according to Gen. 3: 17, participated in the curse pronounced upon fallen man; that earth, which, with all its irrational appendages animate and inanimate, yet groans and travails in pain under the abuse which men have made of it; that earth which is destined to be delivered from this abuse, and to rejoice, with its hills and forests* herds and flocks, in the liberty of the children of God.

Long before this deliverance, it is said, in Rev. 5: 13, that "every creature which is in Heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them, heard I saying, blessing and honour and glory and power, be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb forever and ever." By examining the context it will be seen that this took place before the opening of the Apocalyptic seals; that is, many hundreds of years ago. It cannot, therefore, mean that every descendant of Adam thus praised God, because many were not yet born. Neither can it mean that all then living praised him as the children of God, because the mass of mankind were then, as they are yet, enemies to God. But it was true then, that "the heavens declare the glory of God,"† and it is yet true that "surely the wrath of man shall praise thee: the remainder of wrath shalt thou restrain."

In the same way that universal homage, which is expressed in many of the above texts, is explained by an inspired writer. Besides other passages of the Old and New Testaments, the Apostle Paul is quoted as saying‡ "that in the name of Jesus, every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth, and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father." The same Apostle has clearly shewn that such declarations do not contain the doctrine of universal salva-

*Isa. 55. 12.

†Ps. 19. 1.

‡Phil. 2: 10, 11.

§ 1st Cor. 15: 22.

tion, but that of a general judgment, after which he assures us that some shall be punished with everlasting destruction. The passage is in Rom. 14 : 10—12 “But why dost thou judge thy brother? or why dost thou set at nought thy brother? for we shall all stand before the judgment seat of Christ. For it is written, as I live saith the Lord, every knee shall bow to me, and every tongue shall confess to God. So then, every one of us shall give account, of himself to God.” It would be strange indeed, for the Apostle to preach universal salvation as a motive to deter a mortal from judging his brother! Instead of this he reminds him that every tongue thus judging, must confess before the judgment-seat of Christ, and every stiff knee must bow there, however reluctantly. And let it be remembered that the Judge himself has already informed us of the result of this awful account. “Then shall he say also, unto them on the left hand, ‘depart from me, ye accursed into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels.’”*

It has already been shewn in the refutation of the 7th argument, that Christ’s *gathering* all things related to this same great consummation. In the context† it was shewn that at that period, he should put all things, that is, his enemies, under his feet. It was there said, that the scriptures affirm that this treatment is given to enemies, both by God and man.—When Joshua had conquered the five Kings of Canaan, he ordered his followers to bring them out of the cave in which they had taken refuge. “And they did so, and brought forth those five Kings unto him, out of the cave, the King of Jerusalem, the King of Hebron, the King of Jarmuth, the King of Lachish, and the King of Eglon. And it came to pass, when they brought out those Kings unto Joshua, that Joshua called for all the men of Israel, and said unto the captains of the men of war which went with him, Come near, put your feet upon the necks of these Kings. And they came near and put their feet upon the necks of them. And Joshua said unto them, fear not, nor be dismayed, be strong and of good courage: for *thus shall the Lord do to all your enemies* against whom ye fight.”‡ He does not say that God will put his feet upon their *sins*, but upon their *necks*; and that not as *children*, but as *enemies*. How utterly preposterous, then, to say, that when he speaks of putting all things and all enemies under the feet of Christ, and of his

*Matt. 25. 41.

† Eph. 1, 10. 22. 23.

‡ Joshua 10th.

destroying, subduing, and subjecting them, he means *saving* them!!

Those passages are of a different description, which represent Christ as not coming to condemn the world, but to save the world; not contending with men but shewing mercy to them; drawing, reconciling, shadowing, filling, justifying, and blessing them. And here it may not be amiss to notice a very few of the apparent inconsistencies of my opponent and other Universalist polemics. Although they dispute the inspiration of the Apocalypse, yet if Rev. 5: 13, will supply matter for declamation or sophistry it is used as good evidence, by my opponent,* or Mr. Ballou,† or any other. Although they profess to believe parables mere falsehoods, yet as Ezek. 17: 22—4, speaks of “*all fowl of every wing*,” and “*all the trees of the field*,” coming under the shadow of the “*goodly cedar*,” this must be true, while they can see nothing but mere fiction in the torment of the rich man and others whose hearts are as a cage of unclean *birds*; or in casting out of the garden and into the fire, those fruitless *trees* which cumber the ground. My opponent denies the Divinity of the Son of God, and of course refuses to honour him as he pretends to honour the Father; yet to serve a turn, he blushes not to quote John 5: 23, which declares “*that all men should honour the Son even as they honour the Father*.” Universalists deny that *everlasting* and *forever* denote an interminable duration; yet if God is said not to contend *forever*;‡ if he is said to exercise an *everlasting* love,§ to bestow an *everlasting* joy,¶ or an *everlasting* salvation,** they receive the words in their unlimited sense, without thinking any criticism necessary to prove it. So inconsistent are they, that for the sake of general words and phrases which may easily be perverted when detached from their connection, they will quote passages which contain the despised but essential doctrine of justification by faith, and even the destruction of the wicked.

In that class of texts now under review, these general expressions are the reliance of the Universalists. When Christ is represented as drawing and reconciling, shadowing and filling, justifying, blessing, and saving every creature, all men, all kindreds and nations, languages and tongues, they insist upon it, without one particle of proof,

*Minutes, p. 124.

† On Atonement, p. 209.

‡ Isa. 57; 16.

§ Jer. 31, 3.

¶ Isa. 35. 10.

**Is. 45; 17.

that *all* and *every* must be understood universally, and as embracing each individual of the human race, from the creation of Adam to the consummation of all things. When the absurdity of this interpretation is shewn by a concise appeal to general usage, and to the terms and connexion of the authorities containing these expressions, this 9th argument shall be considered as answered.

Although a certain acquaintance of the Apostle John was known to but few of the human race, and hated and slandered by many of those who knew him, John says,* “Demetrious hath good report of *all* men.” The Apostles knew comparatively few, and of them a goodly little number loved them. Yet our Saviour says to them† “Ye shall be hated of *all* men,” “ye shall be hated of *all* nations for my name’s sake.” It is required‡ that “supplications, prayers, intercessions and giving of thanks be made for *all* men.” Yet it is said,§ “There is a sin unto death; I do not say that he shall pray for it.” The Universalist explanation of Paul’s aphorism, “*all* things are lawful,” would legalize even the sin against the Holy Ghost. In the universal sense, it is neither right nor possible for any one, wise or simple to believe *all* things or *every* word. Yet Paul tells us¶ that “charity believeth *all* things,” and Solomon says** “The simple believeth every word.” It is neither right nor possible for any one to please every child of Adam universally in any thing: yet Paul says†† “I please *all* men in *all* things.” God told Paul‡‡ that he should be Christ’s “witness unto *all* men.” Paul called the Corinthians§ his epistle “known and read of *all* men.” When he said§§ that he preached Christ, “warning *every* man, and teaching *every* man in all wisdom,” did he mean that he was infinitely wise, and that he imparted this wisdom to every individual of the human family? Did our Saviour make this the duty of any of the Apostles, when he sent them to “teach *all* nations,” and to “preach the gospel to *every* creature?”¶¶ What did he mean, when he said “this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in *all* this world, for a witness unto *all* nations?” or what did Paul mean, when he told the Collosians* that, in his day, the gospel “was preached to *every* creature which is under heaven,” and “in *all* the world?”

* 3 John 12.

† 1 Tim. 2: 1.

‡ 1 Cor. 13: 7.

§ 1 Cor. 10: 33.

¶ Col. 1: 28.

1: 23. 6.

† Matt. 10: 22. 24: 9.]

§ 1 John 5: 16.

** Prov. 14: 15.

†† Acts 23: 15.

‡‡ Matt. 28: 19. Mk. 16: 15.

§ 2 Cor. 3: 2.

It was told to Christ, "*all men seek for thee.*"^a The Scripture¹ says that many followed our Saviour "out of *all cities*;" that he "looked round about upon *all things*,"^k "healing *every* sickness, and *every* disease among the people;"² that even in the Apostolic day, "he maketh manifest the savour of his knowledge by us in *every place*;"^b that he was "glorified of *all*;"^h and that in the first century "*all men glorified God.*"^a

Paul says* that God, "in times past, suffered *all nations* "to walk in their own ways:" did he suffer *all individuals* so to walk? John says,† that a certain beast "causeth *all*, "both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to "receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads." Was this intended to be understood universally of all ages, or even of any particular age? God says, concerning Mystical Babylon "by thy sorceries were *all nations* deceived;" that "*all nations* have drunk of the wine of the wrath of her "fornication;" "she made *all nations* drink of the wine of "the wrath of her fornication."^d He says that power was given to the Beast "to make war with the saints and to overcome them: and power was given him over *all kindreds* and "tongues and nations." "And the kings of the earth, and "the great men, and the rich men, and the chief captains, and the mighty men, and *every* bond man, and *every* "free man, hid themselves in the dens and in the rocks of "the mountains."^{||} Concerning our Saviour's second coming, he says, "And then shall *all* the tribes of the earth "mourn."^q "Behold he cometh with clouds; and *every eye* "shall see him, and they also which pierced him: and *all kindreds of the earth* shall wail because of him."[¶] Here also, as well as in the prophet Ezekiel, we have some mention of what my opponents would, in this case, call parabolical fowls. "And I saw an angel standing in the sun; and "he cried with a loud voice, saying to *all the fowls* that fly in "the midst of heaven, come and gather yourselves together "unto the supper of the Great God; that ye may eat the flesh "of kings, and the flesh of captains, and the flesh of mighty

^a Mk. 1; 37.

¹ Mk. 6. 33.

² Matt. 9. 35.

^h Luke 4. 15.

* Acts 14. 16.

† Rev. 13. 16.

^d Rev. 18. 23, 3. 14. 3.

^{||} Rev. 13; 7. 6. 15.

^k Mk. 11. 11.

^b 2 Cor. 2. 14.

^a Acts 4. 21.

^q Matt. 24; 30.

R.

[¶] Rev. 1. 7.

"men, and the flesh of horses, and of them that sit on them, and the flesh of *all men*, both free and bond, both small and great."x Well might Peter say, "the end of *all things* is at hand."z

Suppose for a moment that the word *all* or *every* must be interpreted in an universal sense. Then the above texts would prove that the Apostles pleased *all men*, and yet were hated of *all*; that they believed *all things*, and thought *all things* lawful, and yet preached to *all men* universally, that gospel which rejects *every* thing inconsistent with truth and righteousness. They prove that our Saviour, while on earth, was sought by *all men* universally, from *all cities* universally, and that, with his bodily eyes, he looked around upon *all* the human race of *every* age of the world, cured *all* their diseases universally, and diffused among them *all* universally "the savour of his knowledge," so that *all* universally, whether in heaven, earth or hell, dead, living, or yet unborn, did, at that time, give glory to Christ and to God. Notwithstanding this, the above passages prove, according to this Universalist mode of interpretation, that *all men* universally walk in their own ways; that they receive the mark of the Beast; that they are deceived and made drunk by him, and brought under his power; that *all men* universally shall hide "themselves in the dens and in the rocks of the mountains;" that *all* universally shall mourn and wail and finally be eaten up by "all the fowls that fly in the midst of heaven:" and after Paul's man who "believeth that *he* may eat *all things*,"q universally, has eaten *all* these fowls universally, then nothing will remain but to annihilate *him*, and Peter's "end of *all things*" universally shall have come to pass.

Universalists themselves see that in each of the above passages, and very many others which might be mentioned, these general expressions are used in a limited signification. So it is with the same expressions in that class of texts now under consideration. This will appear in the case of Gen. 12: 3, by simply quoting the *whole* verse. "And I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee: and in thee shall *all* families of the earth be blessed." Now it is very well known that Balak the son of Zippor is only one of many millions who curse the people of God. Therefore Balak and many others shall be cursed of God, and must

x Rev. 19. 17, 18.

q Rom. 14. 2.

g Num. 22. 6.

z 1 Pet. 4. 7.

be exceptions to the general promise given in the same verse, that *all* the families of the earth shall be blessed in Christ. Although in Ez. 17: 23, God promises that the goodly Cedar shall protect "*all* fowl of every wing;" yet in the next verse he promises that *all* the trees of the field shall know that he has "brought down the high tree" and "dried up the green tree," as well as "exalted the low tree" and "made the dry tree to flourish." These that are *brought down* and *dried up*, must therefore be exceptions to the general promise made in the preceding verse.

When Christ is said to "fill *all* things," it means that he will fill the church of believers with *all* necessary gospel officers and ordinances. He is "the Head over *all* things" to the church, which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all.^a When in Eph. 4: 10, we are told that he fills *all things* the Apostle adds immediately, "and he gave some, Apostles; and some, prophets, and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ: till *we all* come in the unity of the faith, [and not in unbelief,] and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ." Is there not a great difference between saying that Christ fills his church with all necessary ecclesiastical and spiritual supplies, for their edification in saving faith and knowledge, on the one hand; and saying on the other hand, as the Universalists pretend, that he fills with salvation hereafter all those who live and die without this knowledge and faith?

In Col. 1: 23, the Apostle informs us that if those to whom he wrote belonged to the *all things* which God reconciled to himself by Christ Jesus, as in verses 19, 20, then they would prove it by their faith and perseverance: "If ye continue in the faith, grounded and settled, and be not moved away from the hope of the gospel, which ye have heard, and which was preached to every creature which is under heaven." The writer did not mean here that every creature universally had heard or believed the gospel: neither did he mean that all men universally were reconciled to God, but those only who continued in the faith, rooted and grounded. In Rom. 11: 15, the same Apostle is so far from attributing universality to this reconciliation, that he informs us that the reconciliation of the Gentile world was effected by

^a Eph. 1. 22, 23.

^b That is, the body of Christ.

the casting away of the Jews. "For if the *casting away* of them be the *reconciling* of the world, what shall the receiving of them be but life from the dead?" As in this passage, *the world*, a general word, is used to distinguish the Gentiles from the Jews, so in the 32nd verse, the word *all* is used to embrace both Jews and Gentiles generally, though not universally. "For God hath concluded them *all* in unbelief, that he might have mercy upon all." This appears from the fact that throughout the chapter, and particularly in the two preceding verses, faith and mercy, unbelief and rejection are used as interchangeable terms; from which we are left to understand, that God will "have mercy upon all" believers, whether Jews or Gentiles, and cast away all unbelievers, whether they be branches of the olive-tree or the wild olive-tree. Certain it is that the Apostle James^b did not think that God would "have mercy upon all" indiscriminately, but only upon those who shew mercy to others. "For he shall have judgment without mercy, that hath shewed no mercy." And notwithstanding the doubts of some, these Apostles, Paul and James, spoke the same thing, and by the same Spirit, both on justification and condemnation,

But Mr. Ballou^c seems to think that he can admit this much, and yet prove universal salvation, by shewing that all universally shall be blessed with faith. For this purpose, after quoting the promise that in Christ "shall all the nations of the earth be blessed," he informs us unequivocally that this *blessing* is *justification through faith*, and refers to Gal. 3; 8, for his proof. "And the Scripture foreseeing that God would justify the heathen through faith, preached before the Gospel unto Abraham, saying, in thee shall all nations be blessed." But suppose that he does justify all the heathen through faith; is this saying that he will justify *all men* universally through faith? What will he do with the Jewish branches of the olive tree, concerning which the same Apostle says^d "because of *unbelief*, they were broken off?" And it is a matter of historical evidence that millions of them have died in this unbelief. But observe that the promise that God "*would* justify the heathen through faith," never was intended to take effect to any great extent, until the Christian dispensation; before which time, millions of the Gentiles had died in unbelief. Mr. Ballou, instead of

^b 2; 13.

^d Rom. 11. 20.

^c On Atonement, p. 195.

claiming for himself and the rest of the heathen, the honor of being Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise, ought to remember that our Saviour said to such vain pretenders ; " If ye were Abraham's children, ye would do the works of Abraham." ^e That many perform not the *works* of Abraham *in this life* is too plain from Scripture and daily observation ; and it is declared upon infallible authority, that " there is no *work*, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in the grave whither thou goest." If therefore, salvation depends upon Abraham's faith and work, and if there are some who neither believe nor work here nor hereafter, there are some who are lost in this world and the world to come. When my opponent reminds us that our Saviour came not to condemn the world, but to save the world, it would be well to recollect also that he has said, and has commanded his servants to say, " he that believeth and is baptised shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned." ^f

In those very passages which speak in direct terms, of the Father giving all things to the Son, the context proves that *all men* were not given to him as his followers, neither does he claim them as such. In Luke 10: 22, he says " all things are delivered to me of my Father." But no farther back than the preceding verse, he had thanked that Father, that in his sovereignty, he had hidden the things connected with salvation, from the wise and prudent, and revealed them unto babes: ^g In John 3: 35, he says, " the Father loveth the Son, and hath given all things into his hand." But no farther on than the next verse he says, " He that believeth on " the Son hath everlasting life : and he that believeth not " the Son shall not see life ; but the wrath of God abideth " on him." In John 17: 2, he says, " Thou hast given him " power over all flesh that he should give eternal life to " as " many as thou hast given him." Yet in the next verse he tells us that this eternal life is connected with that saving knowledge, for the lack of which an inspired prophet ^h tells us that many are destroyed. In verses 6—9, we are expressly taught that this knowledge is manifested not to the *world* universally, but to those whom the Father had given him *out of the world* ; and by them it was believingly received.

To prove that Christ does not lose one of the human race which they say is universally given to him, they quote John 6: 39; " And this is the Father's will which hath sent me,

^e John 8. 39,
^g See also Matt. 11; 25. 27.

^f Mk. 16. 16.
^h Hosea. 4. 6.

"that of all which he hath given me, I should lose nothing, but should raise it up again at the last day." But the very next verse proves that none but believers are raised to everlasting life. "And this is the will of him that sent me, that every one which seeth the Son, and believeth on him, may have everlasting life : and I will raise him up at the last day." To shew that all men were not possessed of this faith, through which some receive eternal life, our Saviour says, in the 64th verse, "But there are some of you that believe not. For Jesus knew from the beginning, who they were that believed not, and who should betray him." The Universalist position which we are now discussing, says that "the Father has given him, and he claims for his *followers*, all men universally." But the 66th verse of this same 6th chapter of John, says, "From that time many of his *disciples* went back, and walked no more with him." Here then are some who, after having been his professed *followers*, became offended at his heavenly doctrine; *followed* him no longer ; and thus fell short of that eternal life which is connected with faith.

The only remaining authority under this head is John 13: 3, in which Jesus is represented as "knowing that the Father had given all things into his hands." But to his own family he says in the 10th verse, "ye are clean but not all." Now without holiness no man shall see the Lord. In John 6: 64, just now quoted, it is intimated that Judas the traitor was one of those who "believed not:" he therefore was this unclean person. In the verse immediately preceding the authority now in hand, and in a subsequent verse of the same chapter,* it is said that *the devil* put it "into the heart of Judas Iscariot, Simon's son, to betray" Christ; and that for this purpose, "Satan entered into him." As one cannot serve two masters, and Judas had undertaken the service of Satan, and was therefore an unclean unbeliever, he was not a *follower* of Christ. But in the 35th verse, our Saviour announces a rule which evidently leaves many others in the same disgrace. "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another."

Let it be remembered that the argument under discussion is as follows;—Christ saves all his followers whom the Father has given him;—But the Father has given him all men universally as his followers;—Therefore all men universally shall be saved. After an examination of the au-

* John 13: 2, 27.

thorities advanced in support of the minor proposition of this syllogism, it appears from the context and the whole tenor of God's word, that the Father has not given to Christ *as his followers*, all men universally, but only those who repent, and believe, obey and love. The argument therefore falls to the ground.

TENTH UNIVERSALIST ARGUMENT.

Christ's Priestly Office. Do not the scriptures give us frequent assurances that the High Priest of our profession atones and intercedes for all men? In 1 Tim. 2: 1, he requires us to *pray for all men*: Will he then pray for a part only? No wonder that he would exercise this function of his priestly office in behalf of all, when he gave his life for all. In 1 Cor. 15: 3, it is said that "Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures." Now when we refer to these scriptures as in Dan. 9: 24, do we not find that instead of some remaining under their sins forever, the atonement makes an end of all sins? "Seventy weeks are determined upon "thy people and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and "to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the most "Holy." "Thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save "his people from their sins."* "He shall redeem theirsquels from deceit and violence:"† That is, from sin and punishment. "But he was wounded for our transgressions, he was "bruised for our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace "was upon him, and with his stripes we are healed. *All* "we like sheep have gone astray; we have turned every one "to his own way; and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us *all*. He shall see of the travail of his soul and "shall be satisfied: by his knowledge shall my righteous servant justify *many*; for he shall bear their iniquities."‡ "For when we were yet without strength, in due time Christ "died for the *ungodly*."§ "For Christ also hath once suffered for sins, the just for the *unjust*, that he might bring "us to God."¶ "Who died for us that whether we wake or "sleep, we should live together with him."‡ "God is no "respecter of persons."‡ "For therefore we both labour and "suffer reproach because we trust in the living God, who is "the Saviour of *all men*; especially of those that believe,".

* Matt. 1: 21.

§ Rom. 5: 6.

b Acts. 10: 34.

† Ps. 72: 14.

¶ 1 Pet. 3: 18.

c 1 Tim. 4: 10.

‡ Isa. 53: 5, 6, 11.

a 1 Thess. 5: 10.

"For the love of Christ constraineth us; because we thus
 "judge, that if *one died for all*, then were all dead: and that
 "he died for all, that they which live should not henceforth
 "live unto themselves, but unto him which died for them and
 "rose again."* "The Father sent the Son to be the Sa-
 "viour of *the world*."† "For God so loved *the world* that
 "he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in
 "him should not perish but have everlasting life. For God
 "sent not his Son into the world to condemn *the world*, but
 "that *the world* through him might be saved."‡ "Behold
 "the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of *the world*."§
 "And he is the propitiation for our sins: and not for ours
 "only, but also for the sins of *the whole world*."¶ "For the
 "grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared unto
 "*all men*."^a "But we see Jesus who was made a little low-
 "er than the angels for the suffering of death, crowned with
 "glory and honor, that he by the grace of God, should taste
 "death for *every man*."^b "Who gave himself a ransom for
 "*all*, to be testified in due time."^c He "delivered him up
 "for us *all*."^d "For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ
 "shall *all* be made alive."^e "But not as the offence, so also
 "is the free gift. For if through the offence of one many
 "be dead, much more the grace of God, and the gift by
 "grace, which is by one man, Jesus Christ, hath aboun-
 "ded unto *many*. And not as it was by one that sinned, so
 "is the gift; for the judgment was by one to condemnation,
 "but the free gift is of many offences unto justification.
 "For if by one man's offence death reigned by one, much
 "more they which receive abundance of grace and of the
 "gift of righteousness, shall reign in life by one, Jesus
 "Christ. Therefore as by the offence of one, judgment
 "came upon all men to condemnation, even so by the righ-
 "teousness of one, the free gift came upon *all men* unto jus-
 "tification of life. For as by one man's disobedience many
 "were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall *many*
 "be made righteous.—Moreover the law entered that the
 "offence might abound: but where sin abounded grace did
 "much more abound; that as sin hath reigned unto death,
 "even so might grace reign through righteousness, unto
 "eternal life by Jesus Christ our Lord."^f

* 2 Cor. 5; 14, 15.

§ John 1; 29.

b Heb. 2; 9.

c 1 Cor. 15; 22.

† 1 John 4; 14.

¶ 1 John 2; 2.

c 1 Tim. 2; 6.

f Rom. 5; 15—21.

‡ John 3; 16, 17.

a Tit. 2; 11.

d Rom. 8; 32.

Do not these passages prove that Christ, in his Atonement, takes away our sins and makes an end of them? that he redeems the soul from deceit and violence, so as to give us peace for his chastisement, and healing by his stripes? Is it not declared that through his condemnation and death, he procures for us, justification and eternal life? And is it not affirmed by great strength and variety of expression, that he is a ransom for *all*, the Saviour of *every man*, of *the world*, and of *the whole world*? And as he spared not his life can he withhold his intercessory prayers? especially as he commands us to pray for all? May we not therefore reason that—Christ saves all for whom he dies;—He dies for all men universally;—Therefore all men universally shall be saved?

On this subject Mr. Ballou reasons as follows, viz. "God would not have given his Son a ransom for *all*, if it were not his *will* that *all* should be saved; and if it be God's *will*, it ought to be ours, therefore it is right to *pray for all*. If the ransom were paid for *all*, it argues, that it was the intention of the Ransomer, that *all* should be benefited. What would have been the astonishment of the world after the immortal Washington had caused to be paid a ransom for *all* the American prisoners who were in Algerine slavery, if he had told the Dey that he did not want more than one quarter of those captives sent home to the land of liberty and to the enjoyment of their families, for which they had so long sighed in bondage; and that he might wear out the rest with fatigue and whips? But the good man's soul was never satisfied until they *all* came home, and with songs of joyous liberty hailed the land of their nativity! And blessed be the Captain of our salvation; he, also, shall see of the travail of his soul and be satisfied, when all the ransomed of the Lord shall return and come to Zion, with songs and everlasting joys upon their heads, when they shall obtain joy and gladness, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away."*

My opponent also quotes Isa. 53: 11. "He shall see of the travail of his soul and be satisfied." He then speaks as follows, viz. "I think there is no christian but will agree with me that this is spoken in relation to the salvation by Jesus Christ. Then I ask will the Messiah, Christ, the Son of God, be satisfied with coming short of what he came into the world to do? And for what did the Redeemer's

* Ballou on Atonement, p. 205.

"soul travail? What did he come into the world to do? His soul travailed for the spiritual birth of the world. He came into the world to save it. If, then, this is not done, will he be satisfied? But he shall see of the travail of his soul. The word, travail, here means labour, sorrow and trouble; and Jesus was a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief. I dare say there are many in this assembly who know the full meaning of the metaphor without farther explanation; and to bring the matter home to them, may I not be permitted to apply it in a natural sense, and modestly ask this question, is it possible that any thing short of the birth or deliverance of all for whom the soul travaileth should give satisfaction? If two or more were the cause of the labour, would such a soul be satisfied with the birth of one? Certainly not. Just so it is, in relation to the travail of the Redeemer's soul: and if this travail, this labour, toil, and bloody sweat be undertaken for all mankind, — and who can say it was not, — must not all men be born again, and consequently be saved, before the Redeemer's soul is satisfied? Yes, my hearers; for he never can be satisfied with any thing short of it."^a

A disciple of Winchester, might strengthen the argument by the following view of the passages already quoted.

1. They prove the incompetency of man to his own salvation. In 2 Cor. 15: 14, it is said that "if one died for all, then were *all dead*." In Rom. 5: 6, it is said that "when we were yet *without strength*, Christ died for the ungodly." *Ungodly* sinners who are *all dead*, and *without strength*, cannot save themselves.

2. They prove the design of Christ in suffering, and the design of the Father in sending him. He came to "save his people from their sins;"—"that he might bring us to God;"—"that whether we wake or sleep, we should live together with him;"—"The Father sent the Son to be the Saviour of the world;"—"that the world through him might be saved."

3. They prove that Christ actually tasted death as a substitute for sinners; for substitution is the force of the word *hyper*,^b *for*, in several of the passages adduced. He tasted "death, *hyper*, *for* every man;"^c that is, as the substitute of every man. "For Christ also hath once suffered for sins, the just, *hyper*, *for* the unjust;"^d that is, as the substitute of the

^a Minutes, pp. 290, 291.
^c Hebr. 2: 9.

^b *Corne*
^d 1. Pet. 3: 18.

unjust. "For when we were without strength, in due time, Christ died, *huper*, for the ungodly. For scarcely, *huper*, for a righteous man will one die; yet peradventure, *huper*, for a good man some would even dare to die; but God commendeth his love toward us, in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died, *huper*, for us."^a On this last verse Doddridge, who is by no means a Universalist, quotes a note of Raphelius from Zenophon, after which he remarks that Raphelius "has abundantly demonstrated that *huper hemon apethane*^b signifies *he died* in our room and stead: nor can I find that *apothanein huper tinos*^c has ever any other signification than rescuing the life of another, at the expense of our own; and the very next verse, (i. e. verse 7.) shews, independently of any other authority, how evidently it bears that sense here, as one can hardly imagine how any one would die for a good man, unless it were to redeem his life by giving up his own."

In 1 Tim. 2: 6, the word rendered *ransom*, contains the idea of substitution as clearly as the preposition which accompanies it. "Who gave himself *a ransom for all*, *antilutron huper panton*."^d On this subject, Turretin, who was far from Universalism, says, "The word *lutron* might admit of quibbling, but nothing can be more express than the word *antilutron*. It denotes not merely a price, but such a price as is perfectly equal to the debt which it pays; this is the force of the preposition *anti* which expresses *substitution*. Aristotle, who surely understood the Greek language, uses the word *antilutron* in the 9th book of his *Ethics*, and 2d chapter to denote the redemption or purchase of a life by substituting another life in its room."

4. This supposed disciple of Winchester, might urge, moreover, from the foregoing authorities, that in virtue of this substitution, men are not merely brought into a state of *salvability*, but a state of *salvation*. Paul does not say that Christ *may be* the Saviour of all men, but that he "is the Saviour of all men."^e He does not say that grace *may* bring salvation, and *may* appear to all men; but "the grace of God that *bringeth* salvation *hath appeared* to all men;"^f and "where sin abounded, grace *did* much more abound."^g He does not speak of a possible, but of a positive justification. "The free gift *came* upon all men unto *justification of life*."^h

^a Rom. 5: 6-8.
^d ἀντιλutron ὑπερ πάντων
^g Rom. 5: 20.

^b ὑπερ ἡμῶν ἀποθανῶν
^e 1 Tim. 4: 10.
^h Rom. 5: 18.

^c ἀποθανῶν ὑπερ τινος
^f Tit. 2: 11.

He speaks as positively of their resurrection and glorification. "As in Adam all die, so in Christ *shall* all be made alive;" "That as sin hath reigned unto death, even so might grace reign through righteousness unto eternal life by Jesus Christ our Lord."*

Now let me ask if our being ungodly or without strength, can ruin those for whom Christ intercedes? When he came to save the world, and when the Father sent him to be the Saviour of the world, was either of them disappointed? Will God claim satisfaction to his law and justice from the individual offenders, when he has already received, by covenant, a vicarious satisfaction, through the meritorious substitution of our approved Surety?† After his stripes have healed us, shall we be wounded again? Shall not his Father give unto him the travail of his soul, until he shall be satisfied? Can he be the Saviour of all men, and yet some men not be saved? Can those be condemned to death, upon whom he has bestowed justification of life, a glorious resurrection, and a happy immortality?

A conscientious answer to these interrogatories, as in the presence of the Judge of all the earth, to whom we are responsible for the manner in which we handle his word, shall commence my reply to this argument relating to Christ's priestly office. It is my sincere opinion that Christ's prayers are always answered, and that all for whom he intercedes are saved;—that the Father and the Son are not disappointed in their designs of salvation, with regard to a single individual;—that the atonement of Christ is a vicarious satisfaction to all the demands of God's law and justice, and that the father will not again require this essentially requisite satisfaction from any for whom it has once been rendered by Christ our substitute;—that he will never again wound those who are healed by his stripes;—that he will give to our Surety the full amount of the travail of his soul until he is perfectly satisfied;—that all for whom he died, shall be really and not nominally saved;—that they shall really enjoy justification of life, a resurrection in Christ, and immortal glory. If, therefore, it be the design of the Holy Trinity to save *all universally*;—if the atonement and intercession of Christ be for *all universally*, he will save *all universally*. The major proposition of the Universalist syllogism given some time since, I admit to be established from Scripture, that *Christ saves all for whom he dies*. If the word of God will establish the mi-

* 1 Cor. 15; 22. Rom. 5; 17, 21.

† See Hebr. 7; 23.

nor proposition, that *he died for all men universally*, then I admit the conclusion that *all men universally shall be saved*. As I believe that salvation is certainly and irreversibly connected with an interest in Christ's priestly office, my objections shall be made only to the universality of its exercise: and shall consist chiefly of a fair examination of Universalist authorities in their connexion in the Bible. Preparatory to this I would mark the following points.

1. There are some for whom Christ was not a sacrifice, and who shall not be profited by his death. To the judaizing Galatians, the Apostle said, "Behold, I, Paul, say unto you, that if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing." Again, "Christ is become of no effect unto you, whosoever of you are justified by the law."* Now it is an undeniable fact that millions did then and do still look to the law for justification, and receive religious ordinances on that footing. These, according to the Apostle, have fallen short of that grace which bringeth salvation. Christ *profits them nothing*; he is of *no effect unto them*. This is as much as to say that they have no interest in his priestly office, which is the ground of justification to all who are saved.

In Hebrews 10: 26—29, the same Apostle says, "for if we sin wilfully, after that we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins, but a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation, which shall devour the adversaries. He that despised Moses' law, died without mercy, under two or three witnesses; of how much sorer punishment, suppose ye, shall he be thought worthy, who hath trodden under foot the Son of God, and hath counted the blood of the covenant wherewith he was sanctified, an unholy thing, and hath done despite unto the Spirit of grace?" As in the former passage, the Galatians were, in their own esteem, justified by the law, so in this passage, some of the Hebrews were, in their own esteem, sanctified by the blood of the Covenant. Yet these Hebrews afterward counted this blood an unholy thing, and did despite unto the Spirit of grace. Therefore, as Christ did not profit the Galatians, and was of no effect to them, so, for these Hebrews of a particular description,† there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins. As the Galatians fell short of justification through the grace of God, so these Hebrews incurred *a much sorer punishment* than that temporal death which *Moses* inflicted, *without mercy*, upon the violaters of his law; even

* Gal. 5; 2, 4.

† Those who had committed the unpardonable sin.

that eternal judgment and fiery indignation which shall devour the adversaries. That this means a condemnation to eternal fire after the general judgment, is evident from its being here contrasted with the most fearful temporal punishment, and represented a much sorer punishment; and from its being represented in chap. 6, verse 2, as an "eternal judgment," succeeding the resurrection from the dead.

Here then are Jews and Gentiles, who are determined to follow their own way of justification and sanctification. Some sin through the guile of false teachers, and others sin wilfully and knowingly. It is declared that Christ is of no effect to either of them; that neither the sacrifice of Christ, nor any other sacrifice shall profit them; but that after the resurrection of the dead, they must expect to be adjudged to eternal fire. Were the Father and the Son disappointed in their fall? No more than in that of rebel angels. Without either the one or the other, the Holy Jesus shall be satisfied, in receiving the full amount of the travail of his soul.

2. There are some from whom their own debt will be exacted to the utmost. This immaculate Redeemer speaks a very intelligible language on this subject, in his sermon on the mount. "Agree with thine adversary quickly whilst thou art in the way with him; lest at any time, the adversary deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and thou be cast into prison. Verily I say unto you, thou shalt by no means, come out thence, till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing;" "the very last mite."* When the Apostle tells the Galatians that on account of their reliance on circumcision, Christ should profit them nothing; that is, he should not pay their debt, he informs them that in consequence of their self-righteousness, they should be held accountable themselves. "For I testify again to every man that is circumcised, that he is a debtor to do the whole law." Like the debtors mentioned in Luke 7: 41. 42, one owes five hundred pence and the other fifty, and they have nothing to pay: for our Saviour says, "without me ye can do nothing," and these debtors have rejected him to depend upon themselves. Now here are persons deeply in debt, and perfectly insolvent, while running at large, in this world, and they are sentenced by an infallibly righteous Judge, to imprisonment hereafter, until the uttermost farthing is paid; and paid not by our Surety, whom they have rejected, but by themselves. If the

* Matt. 5; 25. 26. Luke 12; 58.

debt had been paid by the Surety, justice would have procured their release. They would not only have been preserved from the eternal prison, but delivered from the chains of unbelief in this life. Their being confined by infinite justice, as debtors to do the whole law, is a proof that Christ, who is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth, did not satisfy the law, as the Surety of these particular debtors, any more than of fallen angels. It was in Christ's priestly office, that he paid the debt of believers by satisfying the law in their behalf; but here are unbelievers who are held personally responsible for the last mite. They, therefore, can have no interest in his meritorious substitution, and must be exceptions to those general expressions, in which he is said to be the Saviour of *all* men. As they have rejected Christ, and can do nothing without him, their insolvency is irremediable, and their confinement, of course, eternal. In this awful, but righteous dispensation, the Holy Trinity is not disappointed in any of its plans. The design of the Atonement is fully answered in the salvation of those for whom it was made. In their regeneration to holiness, and resurrection to glory, the Redeemer "shall see of the travail of his soul, and shall be satisfied."

To Mr. Ballou's illustration of this subject I can see no valid objection. General Washington could not be satisfied with the return of a less number of Algerine captives, than he had ransomed. But when he was fully satisfied in the return of *all* his ransomed countrymen, there remained behind, and there yet remain, many prisoners who are doomed to that severe servitude, until they shall pay the last mite of their own ransom. Does not this prove that they had no interest in Washington's ransom?—that it was not intended for them? but only for his own countrymen? This may appear a censurable partiality in Washington: Godwin may condemn him for loving his countrymen more than foreigners, as he has censured parents for a peculiar attachment to their own children, and as many censure Christ for a peculiar regard to his sheep, in laying down his life. Although I approve of all these attachments, it is not their morality that is now before us. The question is, did Christ ransom all men universally, or only such as he shall actually deliver from condemnation, corruption and punishment? Did he ransom those, who, according to his solemn declaration, shall be kept in prison, until they pay their own debt, to the very last mite? No more than Washington ransomed those unhappy Europeans who

are still in Algerine bondage. But those whom Christ has left in hopeless punishment, are his enemies: and if any American in Algiers had manifested that rancorous and traitorous hostility to his country's President and constitution, which Mr. Ballou and my opponent have evinced toward Christ's Divinity and Atonement, Washington would either have left him in Africa, or brought him home to the enjoyment of that rope which he had prepared for Arnold.

3. It has been proved in the refutation of the 9th Universalist argument, that general terms are very often, if not generally, used in a limited signification. A dissertation was given on the word *all*, a word which frequently occurs, and on which much stress is laid, in the texts brought to support this 10th argument. The evidence there adduced, shows that in the passages here cited, this word *may* be used in a limited sense, but in some of these texts it proves not only that it *may be*, but that it *is* thus used. In one of them, Paul exhorts that "supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks be made for *all* men;" and Mr. Ballou insinuates that this is a proof of the universality of Christ's priestly office. Now it is a well known fact, that the Scriptures deny a universal intercession, both in his case and in ours. In John 17: 9, he says, "I pray not for the world, but for them which thou hast given me; for they are thine." And although in the passage from 1 Tim. we are exhorted to pray for *all* men generally, yet in 1 John 5: 16, we are relieved from praying for the unpardonable sin. This, then, establishes a matter of criticism, the meaning of the word *all*; and a matter of doctrine, the objective extent of Christ's priesthood. It is here asserted by himself, that he intercedes for none but those whom the Father has given him, and these are contrasted with the world, as constituting a part and not the whole of mankind. And would he die for those whom the Father, in divine sovereignty has not given him, and for whom he will not pray? I might rather ask, will not the Holy Trinity conspire to bestow every benefit upon those from whom it has not withheld Heaven's greatest blessing? "He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for *us all*, [that is, for believers like Paul; all whom the Father had given him; for he gave *us* to him, and him to *us*;) how shall he not with him also freely give *us* all things?"^b Thus it appears that he imparts every necessary blessing to those for whom he died;—But there are

^a 1 Tim. 2: 1.

^b Rom. 8: 32.

some from whom he withholds the benefit of his intercession, which is essential to their welfare;—Therefore there are some for whom he did not die. To show that his sacrifice and intercession, (both sacerdotal functions,) are co-extensive, and that they are effectual to the salvation of all for whom they are made, we cannot easily invent plainer words than Paul uses in Rom. 8: 34. "Who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died, yea, rather that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us." Here it is said concerning the same class of mankind, that Christ died and rose again, and intercedes in Heaven for them. This class is denoted by the pronoun *us*, the same *us* to whom, in the preceding context, he promises every good thing, because he had delivered up Christ for them. The question is, does this *us* embrace the world universally, or a part of mankind, who are given to Christ out of the world? Our Saviour has not more unequivocally limited his intercession, than his Apostle, in this 8th chapter, from first to last, limits his atonement. In the very first verse these *us* are described as being in Christ Jesus, and walking after the Spirit. In verse 9th he says, "now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his." How many have another spirit in them! He says that they suffer with him.^a How different from those who trample on his blood! They are saved by hope;^b whereas many die in despair. They pray by the aid of the Spirit. How different from those who blaspheme, or who pray denying the Son and the Spirit! They love God^c whereas in verse 7th, there are some who hate God. These loving, praying, hoping, suffering souls, who are in Christ, and have Christ and his spirit in them; these are the very *ALL* and the very *us* for whom, as in verses 32, 34, Christ was delivered up; and for whom he died and arose again, and intercedes at the right hand of God. These characteristics do not belong to all men universally: neither do the atonement and intercession of Christ.

Returning to the point of criticism now in hand, it may be observed that the word *world*, and the phrase, *the whole world*, found in some of the texts to be examined, are generally used in a limited sense. 1. The Roman Empire in the Augustan age. "There went out a decree from Cesar Augustus, that *all the*

^a Verse 17.

^b Verse 24.

^c Verse 22.

"*world* should be taxed." ^a 2. A multitude in a certain age or country. "The Pharisees therefore said among themselves, 'perceive ye how ye prevail nothing? Behold! *the world* is gone after him.'"^b 3. The churches generally in the "first Century. "I thank my God, through Jesus Christ, "for you all that your faith is spoken of throughout *the whole world*." 4. Believers in general. "For the bread of God is he which cometh down from heaven, and giveth life unto *the world*:" that is to believers, as the whole chapter proves; in which he says "I am the bread of life: he that *cometh* to me shall never hunger; and he that *believeth* on me shall never thirst." "I am the living bread which came down from heaven." "If any man *eat* of this bread, he shall live forever: and the bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of *the world*."^d 5. Those who are not given to Christ. "I pray not for the *world*, but for them which thou hast given me."^e 6. For those whom the Father has given him, and for whose redemption he was slain, but particularly of the Gentiles, as distinct from the Jews. "Now if the fall of them [the Jews] be the riches of the *world*, and the diminishing of them, the riches of the *Gentiles*, how much more their fulness!"^f "And he is the propitiation for our sins: and not for ours only, but for the sins of *the whole world*."^g Does he mean that he is the propitiation not only for the sins of believers, but for the sins of unbelievers? — not only for the penitent and obedient, but for the incorrigibly impenitent and disobedient? Would not this make men indifferent to faith and holiness, and would it not teach that Christ became a propitiatory sacrifice for those whose cause he would not advocate in heaven as their interceding High Priest. That he wrote to excite an abhorrence of sin, and to teach that Christ's intercession and propitiation were coextensive, is evident from the preceding verse. "My little children, these things I write unto you, that ye sin not. And if any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous." For whom is he an advocate? "I pray not for *the world*, but for them whom thou has given me." For their sins then, he is a propitiation. These are called *the whole world*, as Paul in the first sense given above called Gentile believers the *world*, in contradistinction from the Jews, who thought that they were

^a Luke 2. 1.
^b John 12. 19.
^c Rom. 1. 8.

^d John 6. 33. 35. 51.
^e John 17. 9.
^f Rom. 11. 12.
^g 1 John 2. 2.

forever to monopolize the benefits of revealed religion. The Apostles themselves relinquished this prejudice with great reluctance, even after the ascension of our Lord and the descent of the Holy Ghost. When Peter's pertinacity was overcome by the grace of God, accompanied with extraordinary visions, and communications, and effusions of the Spirit, "then Peter opened his mouth, and said, of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons:" that is, he has not now that exclusive love for the Jews, a mistaken apprehension of which made me unwilling to visit this Gentile family; but I find that he is a respecter of all men alike. How? Has he an equal respect for believers and unbelievers? Let Peter speak for himself. "Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons: but in every nation he that *fear-eth* him, and *worketh* righteousness is accepted of him." The Apostle John contended with the same prejudices and difficulties, and he comes to the same conclusion. "He is the propitiation for our sins; [that is, for the sins of us believing Jews,] and not for ours only, but for the sins of the *whole world*:" that is for all in every nation, who fear God and work righteousness. That he was slain for the redemption of such and such only, the same Apostle has declared in Rev. 5: 9. "For thou wast slain, and has redeemed us to God by thy blood, out of every kindred and tongue, and people and nation." When therefore, we are told that Christ is the propitiation for the sins of the whole world, we are to understand, (himself being judge,) that he redeems believers out of every nation: as when he tells us, that in the day of judgment, "*all kindreds of the earth* shall wail because of him,"^b he means that unbelievers, out of all kindreds shall be condemned and punished. Thus it appears that these general expressions are often used in a limited signification, and that their limits are defined by the writers who use them.

4. Before engaging in a fuller examination of the texts brought to support a universal atonement, one more point seems to claim our attention. While the purchase of the Redeemer is often denoted by general expressions with a limited signification, the boundaries of his blood-bought family are also frequently defined by limited expressions in an exclusive sense. Such a fact should relieve us from all difficulty in the explanation of texts relating to this subject.

^a Acts 10: 34, 35.

^b Rev. 1; 7.

The church invisible is pointed out in Scripture under the denomination of sheep and people, friends and brethren, children, bride, and body. In the day of judgment the *sheep* shall be placed on his right hand, and the *goats* on the left. But the Judge himself said, during his humiliation, "I lay down my life for the *sheep*."^a The *goats* then are excluded from his atonement, as they shall be from his glory. He received the name of Jesus, because "he shall save his *people* from their sins."^b There are many *people* unwilling to the last, to receive him as a Saviour from sin. To the exclusion of these, it is said, "thy *people* shall be willing in the day of thy power, in the beauty of holiness."^c Many of this sort of *people*, whom God had determined to make willing, were in Corinth in Paul's day; for God told him, "I have much *people* in this city."^d Did this embrace the heathen *population* universally? Not unless they were universally willing to renounce sin and follow holiness, through the spirit of a holy Saviour. Although Christ died for his enemies, it was only for those whose enmity was to be destroyed. In John 13: 14, he speaks of dying for his *friends* to the exclusion of those, concerning whom he shall say in the great day, "But these mine *enemies*, which would not that I should reign over them, bring hither, and slay them before me."^e There are some who are ashamed of Christ in this crooked and perverse generation. Of these he has said that he will be ashamed before his Father and the holy Angels. To the exclusion of these, therefore, he says of some, that "he is not ashamed to call *them brethren*." This is only two verses after Hebr. 2: 9, where it is said that "he should taste death for *every man*:" or as it might be more consistently translated, "for *every brother*," from verse 11th; or "for *every child*," from verse 13th: for let it be remembered that this is the evident meaning of the writer, since the word *man* is only given him by our translators, and he actually mentioned *brethren* and *children* as the exclusive subjects of the atonement. This observation concerning *children* is confirmed by the inspired words of Caiaphas, who "prophecied that Jesus should die for that nation, and not for that nation only, but that also he should gather together in one, the *children* of God that were scattered abroad."^f These *children* of God have thus far been a sparse

^a John 10: 15.

^c Ps. 110. 3.

^d Acts 18. 10.

^b Matt. 1. 21.

^e Luke 19. 27.

^f John 11; 51. 52. How this resembles 1 John 2; 2, in expression and meaning!

population, but they are destined one day to fill the earth. They are the travail of the Redeemer's soul, with which he shall be satisfied. "When thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin, he shall see his *seed*, he shall prolong his days, and the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hand."^a Instead of confusing the spiritual *seed* with the *seed* of the serpent, which embraces incorrigible offenders, the Scriptures contrast them. To the serpent God says, "I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy *seed* and her *seed*." If he had intended to embrace both in the promise to Abraham, "and in thy *seed* shall all the nations of the earth be blessed,"^b he would have given us the word in the plural and not in the singular number. "Now to Abraham and his *seed* were the promises made: he saith not, and to *seeds*, as of many, but as of one, and to thy *seed*, which is Christ:"^c that is, Christ mystical, embracing all the members of that one body of which he is the head; for "Christ is the head of the *church*, and he is the Saviour of the *body*."^d Does this *body* include that Man of sin, the son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped? Does this "*church of God* which he hath purchased with his own blood,"^e include the *synagogue of Satan*? The inspired illustration of the context, makes it as palpable that it does not, as language can make it. "Husbands love your wives, even as Christ also loved the *church* and gave himself for it."^f Here, then, we have the extent of the atonement plainly defined. Our Saviour proves from the very creation of one pair in the beginning, that the connubial attachment should be exclusive. He has therefore pronounced judgment upon every roving emotion of the heart. The more we confine this affection, to its proper object, the more we resemble the Lamb of God in his love to the heavenly *bride*.^g Would this be the case if he had had an indiscriminate attachment to his own church and the synagogue of Satan?—if he had *given himself*, that is, if he had made an atonement, for the man of sin and his own body indifferently? As, then, his atonement is, in infinite and adorable sovereignty, made for *men* to the exclusion of *devils*, so is it made for his own church invisible, to the exclusion of the devil's church among men. It is made for his sheep to the exclusion of the goats; for his people friends and brethren, to the exclusion of

^a Isa. 53; 10.

^b Gen. 22; 18.

^c Gal. 3; 16. See Jamieson's Sacred History.

^f Eph. 5. 25.

^d Eph. 5. 23.

^e Acts 26. 23.

^g Rev. 21. 9.

those who remain enemies, and aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers to the covenants of promise; for his seed, children, bride, and body, to the exclusion of the seed of the serpent, the generations of Amalek, and those who persevere in loving the creature more than the Creator.

The discussion of the above four particulars was intended to facilitate and curtail the explanation of the authorities advanced for a universal atonement. In its progress several of those texts were partly, and some sufficiently cleared. The first of those which remain, was, if I mistake not, used by Dr. Chauncey, that great champion of Universalism, from whom many of the others also were taken. It is 1 Cor. 15: 3, "Christ died for our sins, according to the scriptures." Whose sins are these? They are the sins of *us*; and in what was said in Rom. 8th, in the 3rd head above, it will be recollected that the *us* for whom Christ died, was composed of believers. In this case the same thing appears from the verse immediately preceding. "By which also ye were *saved*, if ye keep in memory what I preached unto you, unless ye have *believed* in vain." By putting these 2d and 3rd verses together, we find that Christ's dying for our sins, is the meritorious cause, and faith the instrumental cause of our salvation.

But this is said to be according to the scriptures; that is, of the old Testament: for the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy, and Moses wrote of him. There, the redemption of Christ is usually adumbrated by a temporal redemption. "What nation in the earth is like thy people, even like Israel, whom God went to *redeem* for a people to himself?"^a This temporal redemption, however, was from God's peculiar love to Israel, to the exclusion of other nations, and at their expense. This is attested by the law and the prophets. Moses says "I will put a division, (Engl. margin and Hebr. a redemption,) between my people and thy people."^b Isaiah says, "Thus saith the Lord your Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel; for your sake I have sent to Babylon, and have brought down all their nobles and the Chaldeans whose cry is in the ships." "For I am the Lord thy God, the Holy One of Israel, thy Saviour. I gave Egypt for thy ransom, Ethiopia and Seba for thee. Since thou wast precious in my sight, thou hast been honourable, and I have loved thee; therefore will I give men for thee, and people for thy life."^c

^a Ex. 15. 13.

^c Isa. 43. 3. 14.

^b Ex. 3. 23.

See Jamieson's Sacred History.

This love of God to Israel caused him so to redeem them, that this *redemption* served as a *division* or *distinction* between them and other nations. It is so peculiar that other nations, with their *men* and *people*, are said to be given for the *ransom* of the Israelites.

In 1 Cor. 5: 7, Paul plainly alludes to the Old Testament history, in such a way as to shew us what he meant by saying that "Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures." "For even Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us." This is *our* Passover, the Passover of *us*; which *us* he speaks of in the next verse as keeping the ordinance "with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth," and as differing very widely from some who had the old leaven of malice and wickedness, like the Egyptians of old, between whom and the Israelites, God made the typical Passover a redemption or mark of distinction. He said to Moses, "It is the Lord's passover. For I will pass through the land of Egypt this night, and will smite all the first born in the land of Egypt, both man and beast: and against all the Gods of Egypt I will execute judgment. I am the Lord. And the blood shall be to you for a token upon the houses where you are: and when I see the blood, I will pass over you, and the plague shall not be upon you, to destroy you, when I smite the land of Egypt."^a For whom was this typical passover sacrificed? Was it for all men universally? It was for the Israelites alone, to the exclusion of those stubborn foes who sank to the bottom of the Red Sea. For whom is Christ our antitypical Passover sacrificed? For whose sins did he die according to the scriptures? For the spiritual Israel who believe in his name, and not for those incorrigible enemies, who sink, in just judgment, to the bottomless pit.

The next passage which claims our attention is Dan. 9: 24. "Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon thy Holy City, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, &c." Its being said here that the Messiah comes to finish transgression, and to make an end of sins, is considered evidence of universal salvation, because there can be no state of eternal sin and misery, after all transgression and sin shall have been finished and brought to an end. But according to their explanation, this text not only proves that there will be no sin nor punishment af-

^a Ex. 12. 11-13.

ter death, but that there has been no sin nor punishment for near two thousand years past; for it was then that the Messiah came and fulfilled this prophecy. The word here translated *finish*, is, in one of the Psalms,^b correctly rendered *refrain*. "I have *refrained* my feet from every "evil way, that I might keep thy word." My opponent himself will admit that David did not mean that he had *finished* his feet by annihilation, or that he had obtained a perfect deliverance from sin and sorrow in this life. In other places^a it is rendered *stay* or *restrain*. "Therefore "the heaven over you is *stayed* from dew, and the earth is " *stayed* from her fruit." "So the people were *restrained* "from bringing work for the offering of the sanctuary." Would my opponent understand from these passages, that the *heavens* and the *earth* and the *people* were *finished* by annihilation? Neither did the Messiah come to *finish* transgression in this sense, but to *restrain* it, as our translators have rendered it in the margin of the text under consideration. What is meant by his making an end of *sins*, or *sin-offerings* as it is elsewhere rendered,^b is made clear in the close of the chapter, where it is said, "he shall cause the "sacrifice and the oblation to cease." These typical *sins* or *sin offerings* were of no farther use, after God had "made him "who knew no sin, to be *sin* or a *sin offering* for us, that we "might be made the righteousness of God in him."^c To say that he made an end of sins, so that no sin should be afterward committed or punished, is not only contradicting the scriptures, but contradicting palpable matter of fact.^d

Other passages are in the writings of John, where Christ is represented as "the Lamb of God which taketh away the "sin of the world:"^e that is the sins of believing Gentiles; whereas the typical lamb was slain for Jews only, and that not to cleanse the conscience. In this sense the same writer tells us that "the Father sent the Son to be the Sa- "viour of the world."^f Whether this embraced stubborn unbelievers, our Saviour himself declares. "For God so "loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that "whosoever *believeth* on him should not perish, but have "everlasting life."^g This is as much as to say that the Father gave the son to die for those who should believe.

^a Ex. 36 6. Hag. 1. 10.

^b Levit. 4. 3, 25. 29.

^c 2 Cor. 5. 21.

^d 119. 101.

^d See Dr. Wylie's numbers on Universalism, in the Presbyterian Magazine.

^e John 1. 29.

^f 1 John 4. 14.

^g John 3. 16.

A few passages of Paul's writings yet remain, which contain the same doctrine. One represents God as the "Saviour of all men, especially of those that believe."^a This shows that there is a salvation peculiar to believers. It is true, God is the Saviour of unbelievers who forget him: but he is only their Saviour from temporal calamities, such as the bondage in Egypt. The Psalmist^b says that the idolatrous Israelites "forgot God their Saviour, which had done great things in Egypt." But although God *saved* them from the tyranny of Pharaoh, he says concerning some of them, "so I swear in my wrath, they shall not enter into my rest." "And to whom swear he that they should not enter into his rest, but to them that *believed* not? So we see that they could not enter in because of *unbelief*."^c Although they had hardened their hearts through the deceitfulness of sin, God was still their Saviour, Deliverer, Preserver. But in the same sense, the Psalmist says, "Lord thou *savest* man and beast."^d This is a literal translation of the original and the Septuagint. Although God was the Saviour of the godly and ungodly, believers and unbelievers, Paul makes a great distinction between them. He says, concerning those who believed the gospel, "there remaineth, therefore, a rest to the people of God:" Whereas "they to whom it was first preached, entered not in because of *unbelief*."^e This is a comment upon the same Apostle's declaration that "God is the Saviour of all men, especially of those that believe." But we have a similar comment in the context of the passage itself: where he says "godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come." Thus God is the Saviour or preserver of all men in this life, but especially of those that *believe*, because *they* are preserved and blessed forever.

The context will also explain the general expressions used in 1 Cor. 15: 22. "For as in Adam *all* die, even so in Christ shall *all* be made alive." The next verse says, "But every man in his own order: Christ the first-fruits; afterward they that are Christ's at his coming." The *all* that are made alive in Christ are here said to be "they that are Christ's," that is, all who belong to Christ. Now does not the same Apostle tell us that none belong to Christ, but those who have his Spirit? "Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ he is

^a 1 Tim. 4. 10.

^b 106. 21.

^c Hebr. 3; 11. 13. 19.

^d 36. 6.

^e Heb. 4: 6. 9.

none of his.”^a Although there is to be hereafter a general effusion of the Spirit, it is so far from being universal in all ages, that some who have enjoyed its miraculous gifts, and who have even been personal acquaintances and professed disciples of Christ, shall be pronounced none of his. “And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you: depart from me, ye that work iniquity.”^b As, therefore, the workers of iniquity, who are destitute of the Spirit of Christ, do not belong to him, and never did, they shall not be made alive in him; wherefore the word *all* must here be understood in the sense which is limited by the subject to which it is applied. The meaning of the passage is simply this. “As in Adam *all* [that belong to Adam] die, so in Christ, *all* [that belong to Christ] shall be made alive.”

The last passage to be noticed in the latter part of Rom. 5, in which it is said that “the free gift, came upon *all* men unto justification of life,” and “by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous.” We have already seen that the word *all* is often used for a part of mankind, and the younger Edwards^d has proved, in opposition to Dr. Chauncy, that the same thing may be said of the word *many*.^c The whole chapter shews that these *all men* who receive *justification of life*, and these *many* who are *made righteous*, are *justified* and *made righteous* through faith. The chapter begins, “Therefore being *justified by faith*, we have peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ; by whom also we have access *by faith* into this *grace* wherein we stand, and rejoice in *hope* of the glory of God.” He lets us know that these *all men* are the same pious *us* of which he speaks so often. Besides that *faith* and *hope* already attributed to them, he says in verse 5th, “the *love* of God is shed abroad in *our* hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto *us*.” In verse 4th, they have *patience* and *experience*. In verse 10, they are *reconciled to God*. No wonder then, that in verse 17, they are said to have “abundance of *grace*” and of the gift of righteousness.” Are all men universally *patient* and *experienced* christians? have all men *faith*, *hope*, and *love*? Are all universally reconciled to God? Is the Holy Ghost given to all men? Not so. But let it be remembered that Paul says in this same epistle, “if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his.” Christ himself has declared that he that believeth not shall be damn-

^a Rom. 8. 9.
^b Matt. 7: 23.

^c See *note*.

^d Of his writings and his father's, free use is made in this discussion.

ed, and that his enemies, who *love him not*, shall be slain before him. Surely if all men universally enjoyed *justification unto life*, our infallible judge would not condemn ^a some to be slain.

What makes it evident beyond a reasonable doubt, that these *all men* are believers, is, that the 18th verse, in which they are said to be justified, is introduced by *therefore*, as an express inference from the 17th, in which they are said to receive *abundance of grace*, as well as the gift of righteousness: and in verse 2nd they are said to "have access by *faith* into this *grace*." His promises in verse 17th are concerning believers, and are therefore particular. This calls for a particular and not an universal conclusion. As he does not draw any of those *lame conclusions* of which his opponent's friends and the enemies of God accuse him, his inference in verse 18th must be confined to believers, which were contemplated in the promises. And Dr. Chauncy's fear that this interpretation would confound the antithesis maintained from verse 12th to the close, is entirely without foundation, as his great antagonist has shown. Is there no antithesis in saying that as the world of sinners transgressed and died in the first Adam *their* federal head, so the world of believers, are justified and saved in the second Adam, *their* federal Head? This is the doctrine of the chapter, of the epistle, and of the scriptures.

The argument from the extent of Christ's atonement is considered the citadel of Universalism. The result of the examination which it has now received is, that there are some who are not profited by Christ's atonement, but must be sent to prison until they satisfy for themselves; which they can never do. Many plain authorities have been advanced, which shew that Christ died exclusively for those who shall be saved; for his sheep and people, brethren and friends, children and bride, body and church. It has also been shewn by the context of Universalist authorities that the sacred writers mean believers, even where they use such general expressions as *many, all, every, the world*, and *the whole world*, in relation to this subject. We conclude therefore, that unbelievers must perish.

In the course of this discussion my opponent has been represented as an enemy to the Atonement. The word occurs in our translation of Rom. 5: 11. In his Lecture on this passage, he says, "if this word had been correctly translated,

^a The meaning of the word damn.

"the word *atonement*, and of course the doctrine of atonement, as it is now understood, would not have been found, (as it is not contained) in the New Testament. Neither is the doctrine of atonement, i. e. in the sense of making satisfaction to divine justice, by the means of a suffering victim, any where to be found in the Bible." Soon after, in a note, he makes a similar remark concerning "the commonly received doctrine of atonement by vicarious sufferings."^a For farther information, he refers us to the article *atonement*, in Priestley's *History of the Corruptions of Christianity*, a work which he earnestly recommends to the attention of his readers. Of this work, its own author in the last century, professed to give a compend in this desk; in which he says, "I regard with horror such doctrines as those of transubstantiation, the trinity, *atonement*, and other *corruptions of christianity*." Here then, is the consistency of my opponent and his Universalist and Unitarian friends. They quote scripture to prove their point, although in this very work of Dr. Priestley's, recommended earnestly by my opponent, the inspiration of the Scriptures is as unequivocally denied as in Thomas Paine's *Age of Reason*. They urge an argument from the extent of Christ's atonement, which presupposes his vicarious satisfaction, and is perfectly nugatory without it; yet they dare, in the face of high heaven, to express as blasphemous an abhorrence of the *atonement* and its author, as could be expected from devils incarnate. Yet this is the man who calls me brother.^b After thus impiously insulting my Divine Master, he gives the sacred name of brother to his unworthy servant. Worthless as I am, I desire no such confraternity. "O my soul! come not thou into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honour be not thou united."

^a See Lectures, pp. 105, 106.

^b Minutes p. 256. "But my brother,—yes, I say my brother, though he is my opponent in this debate,—says &c."

DEFENCE.

PART SECOND.

Thus much concisely concerning the arguments of the Universalists. My own evidence for the Orthodox opinion may now be expected. Preparatory to this, allow me to say a few things concerning the true statement of the question, and the sources from which this evidence shall be drawn. Nothing but the subtlety of Universalist writers makes it necessary, formally to declare that these sources are the inspired oracles exclusively. Mr. Balfour insinuates that we consider the Bible rather scarce of proof, and that on this account, we resort to uninspired Jewish authority. The doctrine of the Targums which he has proved to be on our side, appears to grieve him. He also shews that the Apocrypha which Mr. Winchester had quoted against us,^a is really in our favour: and it is very remarkable that they generally denote the state of eternal torment by that word^b which is used in the account of the rich man and Lazarus.^c Although he gives us Josephus and Philo also, we lay but little stress on such writers, in doctrinal matters. If however, my opponent is driven to the hard necessity, of resting an affair of criticism upon uninspired Jewish authority, it would surely be more reasonable to resort to them, than to that Hebrew Professor whom he is so often calling upon in this debate. Instead of comparing Spiritual things with Spiritual, and determining the meaning of Scripture words by scripture usage, he is perpetually appealing to my friend the learned Professor, an uninspired Hebrew, for an ultimate decision on the meaning of the words of inspiration. So anxious is he to have him for an umpire between us,

^a In his 4th Dialogue he quotes Wisdom xi. 23—26. xii. 1, 2, 16. xv. 1, 2.

^b [†]*Hades*.

^c 2 Esdras, ii. 29. iv. 2. viii. 53. Tobit xiii. 2. Wisdom xvii. 14. Eccles. xxi. 10. li. 5, 6. Song of the three children, verse 66.

that he calls upon him no less than four times in the same half hour. In the last of these instances he says, "I now once more call upon my opponent to submit to the determination of this point depending on the meaning of these words to the decision of the Professor, and if he will not consent, I appeal to the Professor myself, or to any other competent person who may now be present, to tell me if I am wrong."^a Thus my opponent who unjustly accuses us of servile regard to human authority, actually goes begging for some Father Confessor, either Jew or Gentile, to tell him whether he is right or wrong: and while he professes not to know what opinion the umpire may express, he promises submission to his *determination* in matters of doctrine and criticism. We might as well decide the question by lot. He has been long challenging the clergy "to discuss this important subject with him." Is this decision by unknown and uninspired arbitrators what he means by a discussion? In ascertaining the meaning of words, we should look for higher authority than the mere assertion of any man living; yet in an affair of this sort, my opponent gives Dr. Campbell of Aberdeen and a gentleman of this city, who is really a greater man, as paramount authority. Says he "I give them as my *authority* for not using these words according to the common acceptance."^b These gentlemen are really in my favour; yet the Bible itself is *my authority*.

With regard to the christian church in general, and in every age, my opponent is much more modest and more correct. He appears to know that his system has never been considered a part of their religion. In his article on the word *Universalists*, in the spurious edition of Buck's Theological Dictionary, he says, "The sentiments of the Universalists were embraced by Origen in the third century, and in more modern times by Chevalier Ramsay, Dr. Cheyne, Mr. Hartley and others." Although I could not, with Bishop Horsley, deny Origen's credibility in matters of fact, the whole Christian world will admit that a diminution of his heathenish eccentricities, would have been a great addition to his Christian character. His follies were many: yet a total denial of future punishment, a doctrine which my opponent has borrowed from Mr. Huntington, and which he advocates in this debate, is not acknowledged to be among the articles of Origen's creed. The above extract is, How-

^a Minutes pp. 161. 163. 166. & 168.

^b Minutes pp. 165. 176.

ever, an indirect confession of a remarkable fact, that Universalism in any shape, had no footing whatever in the church of Christ, until Origen, and very little since his day. Clemens Romanus who probably heard some of the Apostles preach, says, "All souls are immortal; even those of the impious; to whom it would be better not to be incorruptible. For as they are punished by inextinguishable fire, with an eternal punishment, and do not die, they can obtain no end to their great evil." With this testimony Justin Martyr and Irenaeus agree. When Origen swerved from this Scriptural doctrine, he taught that the wicked were subjected to an eternal alternation of misery and happiness. This is represented by Augustine as one of Origen's *dogmas which the church did not receive*; one which is inexcusable and indefensible; and one which is to be **VEHEMENTLY ABHORRED BY EVERY CHRISTIAN, WHETHER LEARNED OR UNLEARNED.** As his own belief and that of the scriptures and the church, he tells us, "that Christ shall appear in the consummation of the world, to judge it, and that he will raise all the dead, and will give to pious men eternal life and perpetual joys; but will condemn impious men and devils, that they may be punished without end." He shortly adds; "and we condemn the Origenists, who pretended that there will be an end of the future punishment of condemned men and devils;"^a From the time of Christ to the present day, this doctrine of Augustine has been the creed of all christendom, with the exception of Hobbes, Spinoza, Priestley, and Huntingdon, with those Atheists, Deists, Unitarians, and Universalists who choose to follow them.

Among their devoted followers my opponent occupies, at present, a conspicuous station. He has debated and lectured, preached and printed largely in their defence. For his publications he claims much of your esteem, because as he has told you, they have not yet been censured, although sent to all the Universities and Colleges in the United States, for their critical examination, and respectfully submitted to the whole body of American clergy of every sect and denomination. He forgot to tell you that he had requested them to pay the postage of their remarks. Their refusing to do this, he takes for a certificate of approbation. This is quite an easy way of becoming famous. It must be because my opponent is,

^a See Lampe's *Philologiae—theological Dissertation on the Eternity of Punishment.*

extraordinarily modest, or because he is saturated with applause, that he has not procured the same renown among the clergy and the colleges of Europe. And if refusing to write remarks upon every trifle, and transmit them by mail at their own expense, he considered a favourable attestation, there is no doubt that Captain Simms's Lectures on the practicability and importance of penetrating to the centre of our globe through a supposed opening at the north pole, might soon receive the respectful, though silent approbation of all the literary and ecclesiastical establishments on the surface of the earth, and even of those interior regions which he wishes to explore.

But how comes it to pass, that after having vauntingly submitted his books to unlimited investigation, and challenged all America to discuss with him the subjects of which they treat;—how comes it to pass that after these steps, my opponent should object to my noticing these very books, in a debate which arose from the acceptance of his challenge? You have heard him make bitter complaints of my referring to those works which *he* has brought into question: and although he has heretofore boasted that they contained an unanswered and an unanswerable defence of that doctrine which he here advocates, he has now become so much ashamed of them as openly and repeatedly to declare in your hearing, that “they have no bearing upon the point whatever.” Again, he says, “Now I would ask, what *has* the writings of your “speaker to do with the question before us for discussion?”^a What strange literary phenomena must these books be!! A Universalist *Version*, or to speak more properly, a Universalist *Perversion* of the New Testament, adorned with Unitarian notes, and yet having nothing to do with the Universalist question now under discussion! “A series of Lectures on the “Doctrine of Universal Benevolence, delivered in the Universalist Church,” by a Universalist preacher, and yet they have no bearing on the point now in hand! It is not wonderful that he should deny the bearing of my arguments: It is natural enough for such a character to deny that even the case of the rich man and Lazarus has any relation to the question: But must he not have incurred a doleful dizziness in the dust of debate, before he could say this of his own elaborate and boasted productions, which were written professedly in defence of Universalism? If, however, his report be

^a Minutes, pp. 37. 42.

true, that his works on Universalism say nothing to the point, it is easy to account for the silence of the American literati. With the exception of a few Unitarian establishments, which are in the habit of dealing in such wares, no College to whom they were sent, would think them worth the postage.

Worthless as they are, I shall still take such notice of them as I would of the works of Dr. Priestley, Thomas Paine, or any other infidel. They all bear testimony against their authors. Although my opponent, in denying the inspiration of certain books of Scripture, endeavours to shield himself under the name of Dr. Lardner and the Improved Version, any person of understanding, who reads his quotations from them in his New Testament, will see that he is responsible for the sentiments there expressed. Although he has, of his own motion, in your presence, taken an awful oath "before that God who is the searcher of all hearts," that he maintains an "unbounded faith in the volume of Revelation,"^a he still adheres to that earnest recommendation which his Lectures give of that work of Dr. Priestley, in which the inspiration of that volume is denied in the roundest terms. How can these two things be reconciled? It is only a less learned and a less witty Voltaire, taking the sacramental obligation of the Lord's Supper. When, in the call of Providence, I have vowed an adherence to the Scriptures, it was done sincerely. Whether, therefore, in this debate, I quote my opponent or any other writer, on either side, I shall still treat the Bible, with *the whole* of its sacred contents, as the only infallible-rule of faith and practice.

It is of importance to have well defined views of the real question to be supported by such authority. In this respect justice is seldom done to the orthodox. "Is the punishment of the *wicked* absolutely eternal?" Instead of this question about the punishment of the *wicked*, my opponent would persuade you that I have undertaken to prove that the greater part of the universe will be destroyed. His words are the following, viz. "But my opponent would have you believe that the adversary, or devil, if you please, that goeth about as a roaring lion, is heir to most of the creatures whom God hath made." In another instance he would insinuate that, according to my doctrine, God will "doom the greater portion of his helpless offspring to never ending torment."^b I have never promised nor attempted to prove

^a Minutes p. 76.

^b Minutes pp. 133. 179.

such a thing. My object is to prove that God will doom the *wicked* to eternal torment. If these embrace the greater part or the whole of his creation "though hand join in hand, the wicked shall not be unpunished." But what evidence have I, or what evidence has my opponent that this character will fit "the most of the creatures whom God hath made?" Does either of us know what proportion of the angelic throng fell from the happiness of heaven? Can either of us tell what proportion of the human race shall be regenerated and saved through Jesus Christ? Thus far it is true, "many be called but few chosen:" but when we consider the vast accession which the church is to receive from the incalculable population and the general piety of the millennial day, we know not that the wicked shall bear a greater proportion to the righteous, that our convicts in prison do to the citizens at large. "And I beheld, and I heard the voice of many angels round about the throne, and the beasts and the elders: and the number of them was ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands." "After this I beheld, and lo! a great multitude which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people and tongues, stood before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes and palms in their hands; and cried with a loud voice, saying salvation to our God, which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the lamb."^a

The question is not whether we wish all men saved, or whether we hate the wicked, or love sin, but whether God has determined that incorrigible sinners shall be eternally punished. Yet Mr. Ballou would charge the orthodox with the above evils. While charitably representing them as the Prodigal's elder brother, as the "grumbling" labourers who bore the heat and burthen of the day, and as the murmuring Scribes and Pharisees, he asks, "Is it hard to see that my opponent has made a very fair and full profession of his love to sin in room of his love to God; and a strong desire to injure his fellow men, in room of serving them in love?" "At what do my opposers rage? At what are they dissatisfied? Not because I exclude them from any privilege or blessing of the gospel. What then? I am sorry to name it. It is because I extend those blessings farther, and hope they will do more good than what suits them!"^b To this it may be answered that Universalism

^a Rev. 5; 11, 7; 9, 10.

^b On Atonement pp. 223, 224.

is an attempt to *exclude* us from the truth, which is an essential *privilege* and *blessing of the gospel*. Without *rage*, we are *dissatisfied* at this attempt. We hate falsehood and iniquity ; and, through grace, we love God and our fellow creatures. Labours for the general diffusion of gospel blessings are certainly one mark of this love. The orthodox have been enabled to do something in this way. But Mr. Ballou says, "I EXTEND THOSE BLESSINGS FARTHER." Vain man ! What has he ever done for the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom ? Does he suppose that his mere word can raise the dead ? Or that his pen can write their names in the book of life ? And yet the arrogant assumption of these prerogatives of Heaven, is the amount of Universalist exertions for the salvation of sinners. While, for this purpose, the Orthodox risk every expense and danger, and are instrumental in saving millions, not only in word but in deed, their enemies deride their pious labours, and continue crying peace peace, when there is no peace. They deny our moral malady, and of course will not apply the remedy. "The whole head is sick and the whole heart faint. From the sole of the foot even unto the head, there is no soundness in it ; but wounds and bruises and putrifying sores : they have not been closed, neither bound up, neither mollified with ointment." The Orthodox see mankind to be in this condition, and, like the good Samaritan, they endeavour to apply the oil and the wine. For this *service of love*, they are reviled and opposed by the whole Iscariot band. Yet these Universalist and Unitarian priests and Levites, who passed by on the other side, boast of their superior skill, industry, and success in the healing art. After they have, in their own conceit, banished all disease from the earth, by a blast of their nostrils, and, with a dash of their pen, pronounced all men perfectly sound, they flap their triumphant wings, and proclaim to the world, "We extend the blessings of health farther than it suits the good Samaritan to do." There is no better way of answering such empty and invidious boasting, than in the words of Job. ^a "But ye are forgers of lies, ye are all physicians of no value."

While it *suits* the lovers of truth to preach the gospel to every creature, saying, "he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved," it *suits* them to say moreover, "he that believeth not shall be damned." And it is this unbeliever, one who lives and dies in a state of corruption and condem-

^a 13: 4.

^b p. 58.

nation, that is meant by the *wicked*, in the question now under discussion. "Is the punishment of the wicked absolutely eternal? or is it only a temporal punishment in this world, for their good, and to be succeeded by eternal happiness after death?" It has already been shewn that these two propositions exhibit the two sides of one and the same question. The latter clause, which was designed to present the negative of the main question in a peculiar form, my opponent has undertaken to support. In his 4th Lecture,^a he says, "My evidence will be derived from two sources: *first* 'from the law of reason; and *secondly*, from the law of the 'scriptures.' To shew you how perfectly unnecessary it is to meet him on the ground of reason, I will give you only one instance of his skill in this way, where he has made sad work of the attributes of God, as well as of the human constitution. The following are his own words, viz. "In a Philosophical sense, there is not full power, so long as the effect is not produced; for all that we know of power is by 'the effect.'^b It is easy to see that this principle would prove not only our own inability to procure, but the inability of the Creator to bestow, any blessing, corporeal or spiritual, temporal or eternal, which has not already been obtained. And this he calls *philosophy*!

CONFIRMATION.

To prove that the punishment of the wicked is absolutely eternal, my evidences shall be brought from the word of God. The importance of the subject and the necessity of giving it a candid and devout attention have already been urged. My proofs shall be given under five heads. 1. This doctrine shall be fairly *inferred* from the scriptural account of the attributes of God, and the character and condition of mankind. 2. Several scripture texts shall be produced, which, in various forms of expression, *imply* this doctrine. 3. It shall be shewn that the scriptures point out such a *contrast* between the righteous and the wicked, as to their character, standing, and future destiny, as can be satisfactorily explained, only by admitting the eternal punishment of the wicked. 4. Its eternity shall be proved by *negative* expressions of scripture, in which its termination is plainly *denied*. 5. It shall be proved by passages of scripture, in which the doctrine is *affirmed*. Thus you have my division, under the denominations of *inference, implication, contrast, negation* and

^a p. 85.

^b Presbyt—m verses Presbyt—m, p. 15.

affirmation. These terms, used for convenience, were the best that I could procure. The two first appear synonymous: though it will be found that the first is a deduction from general doctrines, and the second from particular figures of expression.

FIRST ORTHODOX ARGUMENT.

INFERENCE.

This doctrine shall be fairly *inferred* from the scriptural account of the attributes of God, and the character and condition of mankind. As these are topics to which both parties resort, the impartial consideration of the divine attributes, postponed from the 5th Universalist argument, was promised in this place. These we propose to treat of in two classes; which, from the appearance of things, and for distinction's sake, we will call the milder and the severer attributes of God. The various subjects embraced under this first argument, shall with divine assistance, be considered in the following order. 1. God's goodness, love, mercy and grace, 2. In connexion with these, the scriptural plan of salvation. 3. God's justice and righteousness, holiness and truth. 4. In connexion with these, the scriptural account of sin. 5. The helplessness of sinners. 6. In connexion with this, the scriptural account of the character, influence and dominion of that society to which the curse has exposed and subjected them.

I. The milder attributes of God, such as goodness, love, mercy, and grace. To shew what we are to expect from these, my opponent quotes such as the following passages. "For great is thy *mercy* toward me; and thou hast delivered my soul from the lowest hell." "They shall abundantly utter the memory of thy great *goodness*, and shall sing of thy righteousness. The Lord is *gracious*, and full of *compassion*; slow to anger, and of great *mercy*. The Lord is *good to all*; and his *tender mercies* are over *all* his works." "Thou openest thy hand and satisfiest the desire of *every* living thing." "That ye may be like your Father which is in Heaven; for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and unjust."^a On this subject, Mr. Winchester, in his Fourth Dialogue, asks his friend the following question. "If you had as much power as good will, would you not bring all to bow to the sceptre of grace, and to be reconciled to God through Jesus

^a Ps. lxxxvi. 13. cxlv. 7, 8, 9, 16. Matt. v. 45. Minutes pp. 121, 179, 190.

"Christ?" In order to prove that God's goodness will impart happiness and salvation to all whom he knows and governs, that is, to the universe, Mr. Ballou says, "If God be infinitely good, his goodness is commensurate with his power and knowledge; then all beings, whom his power produced, are the objects of his goodness; and to prove that any being was destitute of it, would prove that Deity's knowledge did not comprehend such being."^a

If these men have spoken truly, and handled the Scriptures aright, they have proved several very strange things!

1. As we are, in this, as well as in the future world, the subject of God's knowledge and power, and as he exercises infinite goodness toward all the subjects of his infinite knowledge and power, therefore we must enjoy a perfect exemption from all pain, and the full satisfaction of all our desires, in this world as well as that which is to come! Men who can, by so plain an implication, deny the suffering condition of this groaning and travailing creation, under the omniscient inspection of Almighty God, are ready, with Berkeley, to deny the existence of matter, and with Hume, to deny the existence of mind.

2. The use which they have made of Matt. v. 45, shews that they do not think faith and holiness necessary to our acceptance with God; but that he is equally favourable to the evil and the good, the just and the unjust, not only in sending temporal blessings, such as the sun and the rain, but in bestowing salvation. That this doctrine does encourage sinners to live in unbelief, and in the exercise of the most awful presumption, cannot be concealed from the knowledge of Universalists themselves. Here we need not recount facts which have occurred in our own country, or in this city. We shall be satisfied with one which came under Mr. Winchester's own observation. In his Fifth Dialogue he says, "A *Reverend Divine*, whom I knew, (living not long since) had encouraged this wickedly presumptuous disposition, so far as openly to say, *God cannot damn me; he can as soon cease to be God, as he can cast me off; even though I should sin ever so much. If I should kill a man, he could not damn me; nay if I should kill all the men in the world, he cannot damn me.*" Although Mr. Winchester had taught that God's good will and power were commensurate in their application;—the very doctrine which the above blasphemer applied to his own case; his ears are so stunned by the hissings

^a On Atonement p. 182.

of his own brood, that he is obliged to condemn and expose the fruit of his own labours. He says, "At length the dis-
 "pleasure of the Almighty coming visibly upon him, this
 "rhapsodist changed his tone, and exclaimed that *God had*
 "*forsook him!*" He then proceeds to "advise all men of that
 "bold, presuming, self-confident spirit, to read and consider
 "well those words in Jer, xxii. 24. 'As I live, saith Jehovah,
 "though Coniah, the son of Jehoiakim, King of Judah, were
 "the signet upon my right hand; yet would I pluck thee
 "thence.'"

3. If the principles and authorities advanced by my oppo-
 nent, and Messrs. Winchester and Ballou are relevant, they
 not only prove the present and eternal salvation and uninter-
 rupted happiness of men and devils, believers and unbelievers,
 but of the *irrational* creation universally. They quote Ps.
 cxlv. 16. "Thou openest thy hand, and *satisfiest the desire*
of every living thing," By this passage I understand that the
 daily provisions of the young lion, the raven, and the spar-
 row come from God, and that not one of these creatures falls
 to the ground without his knowledge. But many do fall to
 the ground and perish, with their desires satisfied or unsatis-
 fied. So Providence sends all the comforts which men enjoy,
 yet many die because their wants are not supplied, and many
 perish forever because their wicked desires are satisfied.
 "For the wicked boasteth of his heart's desire, and blesseth
 "the covetous, whom the Lord abhorreth." "So they did eat,
 "and were well filled; for he gave them their own *desire* :
 "they were not estranged from their lust. But while their
 "meat was yet in their mouths, the wrath of God came up-
 "on them, and slew the fattest of them, and smote down the
 "chosen men of Israel." "And he gave them their request,
 "but sent leanness into their souls." "The *desire* of the
 "wicked shall perish."^a

The view which the Orthodox give of the attributes of
 God is reasonable and scriptural. They never pretend to
 measure the perfections of God by the objects upon which
 they are exercised; for if they were, they must either find
 an infinite creation, or a finite Creator. Are the milder at-
 tributes of God less than infinite, because he has pronounced
 and inflicted a curse upon the inferior creation in conse-
 quence of Adam's fall? Are these perfections diminished
 because "man is born unto trouble as the sparks fly up-
 ward?" God foreknew, foretold, and brought to pass the

^a Ps. x. 3. lxxviii. 29. cvi. 15. cxli. 10.

destruction of Jerusalem ; in which tender mothers were impelled by the phrenzy of *unsatisfied* hunger, to eat the *desire* of their eyes. Did these sufferings, or did the ineffable anguish of the Divine Redeemer, when bearing the curse due to our offences, tarnish the infinite lustre of the divine goodness ? As infinite power has created a finite universe, so has infinite sovereignty made a limited application of divine mercy.

That this application of mercy is more limited than our finite creation, will appear from plain declarations of Holy Writ. The season of its exercise is there spoken of as a time of light, a day of grace, of salvation and of visitation, of God's presence, to open the eyes of sinners, and make their hearts tender and fruitful. The express limitations of this season of mercy may now be given in the following particulars.

1. The scriptures speak of a time of light, which, with regard to some, lasts for a limited period, and is followed by darkness. "Then Jesus said unto them, yet a little while is the light with you. Walk while ye have the light, lest darkness come upon you ; for he that walketh in darkness, knoweth not whither he goeth, While ye have the light, *believe* in the light, that ye may be children of light."^a

2. There is a limited day of grace, after which sinners are hardened. "Wherefore as the Holy Ghost saith, to day if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts, as in the provocation, in the day of temptation, in the wilderness." "But exhort one another daily, while it is called to day ; lest any of you be hardened through the deceitfulness of sin."^b

3. God has ordained an accepted time, and appointed a limited day of salvation and of visitation. "Thus saith the Lord, in an acceptable time have I heard thee, and in a day of salvation have I helped thee." "For he saith, I have heard thee in a time accepted, and in the day of salvation have I succoured thee : Behold ! now is the accepted time, behold now is the day of salvation." "And when he was come near, he beheld the city, and wept over it : saying, if thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace ! but now they are hid from thine eyes. For the days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass

^a John xii. 35, 36.

^b Hebr. iii. 7, 8, 13.

"thee round, and keep thee in on every side, and shall lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee; and they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another; because thou knewest not the *time of thy visitation*." "Seek ye the Lord while he may be found, call ye upon him while he is near." "For this shall every one that is godly, pray unto thee in a time when thou mayest be found. Surely in the floods of great waters they shall not come nigh unto him." "Then shall they call upon me, but I will not answer; they shall seek me early, but they shall not find me."^a

4. There is a time when those who walk in the darkness of depravity, and harden their hearts, and blind their eyes, and refuse to seek the Lord, or call upon his name, shall, like barren trees, be cut down, and cast into the fire, and thus deprived forever of that mercy which they here despised. "Then said he unto the dresser of his vineyard, behold! these three years I come seeking fruit on this fig-tree, and finding none: cut it down; why cumbereth it the ground?" "And now also, the axe is laid unto the root of the trees; therefore every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down, and cast into the fire." And there we are plainly told they shall lie, and never be able to rise again. "If the tree fall toward the south or toward the north; in the place where the tree falleth, there it shall be." "There are the workers of iniquity fallen: they are cast down, and shall not be able to rise." "Because I have called, and ye refused; I have stretched out my hand, and no man regarded; but ye have set at nought all my counsel, and would none of my reproof: I also will laugh at your calamity: I will mock when your fear cometh: When your fear cometh as desolation, and your destruction cometh as a whirlwind; when distress and anguish cometh upon you: Then shall they call upon me, but I will not answer; they shall seek me early, but they shall not find me: for that they hated knowledge, and did not choose the fear of the Lord: They would none of my counsel: they despised all my reproof: Therefore shall they eat of the fruit of their own way, and be filled with their own devices: For the turning away of the simple shall slay them, and the prosperity of fools shall destroy them." We need hardly mention that Paul calls this, being "punished with *everlasting destruction*."^b Thus

^a Isa. xlix. 8. 2 Cor. vi. 2. Luke xix. 41—44. Isa. lv. 6. Ps. xxxii. 6. Prov. i. 28.

^b Luke xiii. 7. Matt. xiii. 10. Eccles. xi. 5. Ps. 36. 12. Prov. i. 24—32. 2 Thess. i. 9

shall stubborn unbelievers have judgment without mercy.

II. Having shewn that the eternal punishment of the wicked is fairly inferred from scriptural limitations of divine mercy to those who embrace this mercy by faith, (a doctrine which has, in one shape or another occupied our time from the commencement of this debate,) much has, of course been anticipated, in proof that the scriptural plan of salvation infers the eternal punishment of incorrigible offenders. God has shewn plainly the channel through which exclusively his salvation is conveyed to lost sinners. It is through the love of God, the mediation of Christ, the operations of his Spirit, the dispensations of his Providence, the revelation of his will, and a corresponding subjugation of our will to his. All who are saved, must, according to the scriptures, be saved in this way. That there are some sinners who are not saved in this way, and must, of course, be eternally lost, may be concisely shewn by an induction of particulars.

1. The love of God. From what was said above, of God's milder attributes, such as his goodness, love, mercy, and grace, it appears, that there are some whose day of light and grace, of visitation and salvation, shall be succeeded by darkness and despair, banishment and everlasting destruction. It was proved that they should have judgment without mercy, and divine wrath instead of love. Before Rebecca's children were yet born, or had done good or evil, God said "Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated."^a Their lives corresponded with their respective destinies: and there is not an iota of evidence that God's love shall ever be withdrawn from pious Jacob, or his hatred removed from wicked Esau. "What shall we say then? Is there unrighteousness with God? God forbid. For he saith to Moses, I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and I will have compassion on whom I will have compassion." There are thousands who are so much engaged in making laws for their Creator, and passing judgment upon his actions, that they fall short of that repentance to which his goodness might otherwise lead them. "Despisest thou the riches of his goodness and forbearance and long suffering; not knowing that the goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance? but after thy hardness, and impenitent heart, treasurest up unto thyself, wrath against the day of wrath, and revela-

^a Rom. 9; 10-15.

"tion of the righteous judgment of God, who will render to every man according to his deeds."^a

2. The mediation of Christ. In what was said of Christ's offices, under the 8th, 9th, and 10th Universalist arguments, it was proved that although he was the light of the world, there were some who loved darkness rather than light, and who should be cast into the blackness of darkness forever, —that although he was the universal sovereign, some of his subjects would continue rebellious, and should be slain before him; —and that although he was a successful High Priest for Jews and Gentiles, without respect of persons, it was only for those among them who feared God and wrought righteousness, only for those whom the Father had given him. For the lost part of mankind he refuses to pray. Nay, he prays against Judas, and his spiritual children who have since canonized that Arch Traitor. "Add iniquity unto their iniquity, and let them not come into thy righteousness. Let them be blotted out of the book of the living, and not be written with the righteous." "Set thou a wicked man over him, and let Satan stand at his right hand. When he shall be judged, let him be condemned, and let his prayer become sin." "Let there be none to extend mercy unto him; neither let there be any to favour his fatherless children." "Let this be the reward of mine adversaries from the Lord, and of them that speak evil against my soul." These are the words of the Spirit of Christ, and these are the scriptures which were fulfilled, when the son of perdition went to his own place.^b

3. The operations of the Holy Spirit. "If ye live after the flesh, ye shall die: but if ye, through the Spirit do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live. For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the Sons of God." "Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his." "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." But there are some concerning whom God has said, "My Spirit shall not always strive with man." "But they rebelled and vexed his Holy Spirit: Therefore he was turned to be their enemy, and he fought against them." "Whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the world to come."

^a Rom. 2; 4—11.

^b John 17; 12. Acts 1; 16—20, 25. Ps. 69; 27, 28. 109; 6—20.

• Rom. viii. 13. 14. 9. John iii. 5. Gen. vi. 3. Isa. lxvii. 10. Matt. xii. 32.

4. The dispensations of Providence. "All things work together for good to them that love God, to them who are the called according to his purpose." In the reception of sanctified mercies and sanctified afflictions, they grow in knowledge, grace, and usefulness. That it is not so with the wicked, is attested by those who have seen them in prosperity and adversity. "I was envious at the foolish, when I saw the prosperity of the wicked. For there are no bands in their death; but their strength is firm. They are not in trouble as other men: neither are they plagued like other men. Therefore pride compasseth them about as a charm; violence covereth them as a garment. Their eyes stand out with fatness; they have more than heart could wish. They are corrupt, and speak wickedly concerning oppression; they speak loftily. They set their mouth against the heavens, and their tongue walketh through the earth." "They shall fret themselves, and curse their King and their God, and look upward." "And men were scorched with great heat, and blasphemed the name of God, which hath power over these plagues: and they repented not to give him glory. And the fifth angel poured out his vial upon the seat of the beast; and his kingdom was full of darkness; and they gnawed their tongues for pain; and blasphemed the God of Heaven because of their pains and their sores, and repented not of their deeds."^b

5. The revelation of the will of God. "This is life eternal; that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou has sent." "By his knowledge [by the knowledge of him,] shall my righteous servant justify many." "The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul: the testimony of the Lord is sure, making wise the simple: the statutes of the Lord are right, rejoicing the heart: the commandment of the Lord is pure, enlightening the eyes." "Wherewithal shall a young man cleanse his way? By taking heed thereto, according to thy word." "From a child, thou hast known the Holy Scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus. All scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness: that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." "Behold the days

^b Rom. viii. 28. Ps. lxxviii. 3—9. Isa. viii. 21. Rev. xvi. 9—11.

"come, saith the Lord God, that I will send a famine in the land; not a famine of bread, nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the words of the Lord: and they shall wander from sea to sea, and from the north even to the east, they shall run to and fro, to seek the word of the Lord, and shall not find it." "And the word of the Lord was precious in those days; there was no open vision." "Where there is no vision the people perish; but he that keepeth the law, happy is he."^a These authorities shew that in the salvation of sinners, the scriptures are an important and necessary means, of which many are left destitute in divine sovereignty, and without which, divine justice permits many to perish.

6. The subjection of the heart to the law of Christ. "Kiss the Son, lest he be angry, and ye perish from the way, when his wrath is kindled but a little." "Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish." "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." "He that believeth not is condemned already"—shall be condemned at the day of judgment;—and "shall go away into everlasting punishment." In relation to this subject we might quote all that the Scriptures say of the necessity of regeneration, repentance, and faith; justification, adoption and sanctification. Yet how many are there, who, instead of receiving Christ's yoke which is easy, and his burthen which is light, have "sent a message after him, saying, we will not have this man to reign over us!" how many still retain that temper "which is not subject to the law of God neither indeed can be!" Concerning every such character, the Judge has declared that he "will appoint him his portion among unbelievers."^b

It will be observed that the above six particulars all converge in the cross of Christ. "Neither is there salvation in any other: for there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved." The love of God sent a Saviour, who willingly undertook the mediatorial work. The Spirit and Providence and word of God present and convey a Saviour; and, blessed be God, the hearts of his people, through grace, receive a Saviour. That there are many who forever reject this salvation, cannot rea-

^a John xvii. 3. Isa. liii. 11. Ps. xix. 7. 8. 11. ix. 9. 3 Tim. iii. 15—17. Amos viii. 11. 12. 1 Sam. iii. 1. Prov. xxix. 18.

^b Ps. ii. 12. Luke xlii. 3. John iii. 3. 18. Matt. xxv. 41. 46. Luke xix. 14. Rom. viii. 7. Luke xii. 46.

^c Acts iv. 12.

sonably be denied, and is in fact admitted by Winchester himself. Their salvation then is an effect without a cause. They have no interest in the love of God, which is the procuring cause of salvation;—in the mediation of Christ, which is the meritorious cause;—in the grace of his Spirit which is the efficacious cause;—no improvement under his providence, which is the accidental cause;—nor under his word, which is the instrumental cause on the part of God; nor do they exercise that saving faith, out of a new heart, which is the instrumental cause on the part of man. Now, according to the Scriptures, these are the only possible causes of salvation.—But there are confessedly some on whom they do not, and never shall operate. Therefore, there are some who never shall enjoy that salvation which is the effect of these causes.

It was asserted above, that Mr. Winchester admits the minor proposition of the syllogism just now repeated; that there are many, who forever reject this salvation. This was said on the authority of the Rev. Elisha Andrews,^b who quotes from his works the following words, viz. "They who lived "and died in rebellion against God, will be eternally deprived of the glories and honours of the kingdom of Christ." As he advocated a limited punishment in the future world, it is his well-known sentiment that some *have lived and died in rebellion against God*, and "will be condemned in the day of judgment, and punished in the lake of fire."^c To the same amount Mr. Andrews^d quotes another passage from Mr. Winchester, in the following words, viz. "The sin against "the Holy Ghost is an offence of that kind, that, either owing "to its uncommon malignity, as is most likely, or some other "cause, exposes the guilty person to the age of judgment from "which he cannot escape by repentance, pardon, and sprinkling of the blood of Christ, as other sinners may." Thus does Mr. Winchester admit that there are some sinners who are "eternally deprived of the glories and honors of the "kingdom of Christ" and "cannot escape by repentance, "pardon, and sprinkling of the blood of Christ." Those who believe that there is no salvation in any other,^e will conclude that these sinners can never be saved.

Mr. Winchester has generally passed himself off for a firm

^a See Lampe's Philologico-theological Dissertation on the Eternity of Punishments. Part 1. Section 31.

^b See his Candid Examination of the Moral Tendency of the Doctrine of Universal Salvation, as taught by its advocates, p. 78.

^c Dialogue 5th.

^d p. 77.

^e Acts 4 : 12.

believer in the divinity and atonement of Christ. Unless these professions were swelling words of vanity, he must have considered him not only the Saviour of minor offenders, but of the most desperate transgressors that shall ever see heaven. Yet how different is the representation given in the above extracts! Does he believe that some who are saved, shall nevertheless be "*eternally deprived of the glories and honors of the kingdom of Christ?*" Is it because Christ will frown upon any of his own purchase? No; but because their sins are of such "*uncommon malignity*" that they "*cannot escape by repentance, pardon, and sprinkling of the blood of Christ.*" He would have us believe that there are sins of too deep a dye to be washed away in that blood "*that speaketh better things than that of Abel.*" He would persuade us that Christ, whom God, hath "*exalted with his right hand, to be a Prince and a Saviour, for to give repentance to Israel, and forgiveness of sins,*" cannot impart "*repentance and pardon*" to such gross offenders. They must therefore perish forever, or find a Saviour whose blood can cleanse them from sins of such "*uncommon malignity.*" Who this transcendant Saviour is, will appear from the following extract from the same author, and through the same channel viz. "*As they have lived and died in sin, their destruction or misery is certain, and there is no remedy that can prevent their experiencing the consequences of their crimes, and suffering the just punishment which shall be inflicted upon them, according to their different deserts.*" From the pen of a christian, this language would evidently convey the doctrine of eternal punishment. This was far from Mr. Winchester's meaning. He is here speaking of persons whom he vainly expects to reach heaven at last. Upon what ground? Because Christ suffered, *the just for the unjust?* No; *they cannot escape by the sprinkling of the blood of Christ*; this will not do for sins of such *uncommon malignity*! How then would Mr. Winchester save them? He would have them save themselves, by meeting the demands of the law in their own persons, and "*suffering the just punishment which shall be inflicted upon them, according to their different deserts.*" One would suppose that it is not now difficult to tell what Mr. Winchester means by saying that such a man will be eternally deprived of the glories of Christ's kingdom. Would that man who, after committing crimes of uncommon malignity, had, in his own per-

son, breasted the storm of divine vengeance, and made full satisfaction to the law of God, without any need of repentance, pardon, or vicarious sufferings;—would that man be satisfied with the glory of a Saviour whose blood was inadequate to an atonement which he had effected in his own person? Is it not easy to see that he would assume as great a pre-eminence over the church and its Divine Head in the other world, as such characters generally do in this world? Such is the profane contempt which Universalism, even in the hands of this *specious impostor*, throws upon the *only Redeemer* of lost sinners.

III. The several attributes of God, such as his justice and righteousness, holiness and truth. On these subjects I shall give plain scripture authority, which goes to shew that these attributes of God require the *punishment*; and the *eternal punishment* of the wicked. “And they cried with a loud voice, saying, how long, O Lord HOLY and TRUE! dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?” “And the third angel poured out his vial upon the rivers and fountains of water, and they became blood. And I heard the angel of the waters say, thou art RIGHTEOUS, O Lord! which art and wast and shalt be, because thou hast judged thus. For they have shed the blood of saints and prophets, and thou hast given them blood to drink; for they are *worthy*.” “And after these things, I heard a great voice of much people in heaven, saying, Alleluia! Salvation, and glory, and honor, and power unto the Lord our God: for TRUE and RIGHTEOUS are his *judgments*: for he hath *judged* the great whore, which did corrupt the earth with her fornication, and hath avenged the blood of his servants at her hand. And again they said, Alleluia! and her smoke rose up *for ever and ever*.” “Seeing it is a RIGHTEOUS thing with God, to recompense tribulation to them that trouble you; and to you who are troubled, rest with us, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven, with his mighty angels, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ; who shall be punished with *everlasting destruction* from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power; when he shall come to be glorified in his saints, and to be admired in all them that believe, (because our testimony among you was believed,) in that day.”^a

^a Rev. 6; 10. 16; 4—6. 19: 1—3. 2 Thess. 1; 6—10.

In these passages God is said to *judge* the wicked,—his decisions are called *judgments*;—they are said to be pronounced *in that day, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels*;—the punishment is *everlasting even forever and ever*;—it is inflicted because the wicked are *worthy* according to the strict principles of justice;—because it is a *righteous* thing with God to recompense tribulation to them;—because God is the “*Lord Holy and True,*” and “*True and Righteous are his judgments.*” These authorities shew that divine *justice and truth* require the everlasting punishment of the wicked, and that their being imprisoned until they pay the uttermost farthing of their debt, in a confinement to an absolute eternity. They prove that those who have vainly depended on their own sufferings to make satisfaction to justice, will be awfully disappointed; and it has already been shown in the two foregoing heads, that it will be then too late to escape through the vicarious satisfaction of Christ.

But there is another way of trying to evade the force of this argument. Lampe, in his “*Dissertation on the Eternity of Punishments,*”^a tells us of certain characters “*who admit that God has threatened those punishments in his word, although, as Supreme Legislator, he is at liberty to dispense with the execution, and to grant some mitigation, though unknown to us.*” That there were some, even in Chrysostom’s time, who held this sentiment, I gather from his Homily on the resurrection. ‘How,’ says he, ‘shall I persuade you? When I say their worm shall not die, their fire shall not be quenched; when I say they shall go into eternal fire; when I set before you the rich voluptuary now wailing in the flames, you say, *these are only threats.*’ This is the satanical doctrine^b which renders the grace given to you useless, and makes you unfruitful.’ Of the same stamp were those of whom Augustine, in his City of God, 21: 24, says, ‘This holds good against those, who in pleading their own cause, attempt, under pretence of greater compassion, to contravene the words of God, asserting that they are true only in as far as they shew what men *deserve* to suffer, not what they actually *shall* suffer.’” To come nearer home, Dr. Huntingdon has adopted the same mode of interpretation, in the following words, viz. “That the wisdom of God saw fit, for a time, to leave man in such ignor-

^a Part 2 Sect. 8.

^b Satanicum hoc est verbum.

"rance and darkness of mind, that he should mistake that which was spoken only as the voice of justice, for a declaration of very fact." If our interpretation be a *mistake*, as he here represents it, then the scriptures do not *really* threaten eternal punishment, but only *appear* to do it, on account of our "ignorance and darkness of mind." What shall we think then, when Dr. Huntingdon himself confesses that this is no vain appearance, but a solid reality. The following question and answer are in his own words; viz. "Now does the bible plainly say, that sinners of mankind shall be damned to interminable punishment? It certainly does, as plainly as language can express, or any man, or even God himself can speak." His assertion therefore, that God will not execute a threat which he has made, "as plainly as language can express," is a denial of his truth; is a contravention of the words of God, as Augustine represents it, and of course, a satanical doctrine, as Chrysostom calls it. It deserves, to be classed with those rules of interpretation by which they first assert that the language is parabolical, or popular, and then conclude that it is false.

Among the many cases which are cited against the veracity of heaven, we need mention only two which appear to be chiefly relied upon. The first is in Gen. ii: 17. "But of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it: for in the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die." The second is in Jonah iii. 4, "And Jonah began to enter into the city a day's journey, and he cried and said, yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown." These threatenings, it is declared, never were executed, and never will be, either in the actual transgressors, or their Substitute or Surety. "The argument," says Lampe^a "upon which they chiefly rest their opinion, is this; that threatenings do not produce the same obligation which promises do: since he who threatens, assumes the character of a creditor, whilst he against whom the threat is denounced, becomes a debtor. On the contrary, he who promises becomes a debtor to him to whom the promise is made. Now it is perfectly competent to a creditor to remit a debt, whereas a debtor is bound to all that he has promised." This theory has at least, as much evidence in Revelation, as the vortices of Cartesius have in nature. It is a profane figment, invented to account for that which was not under-

^a Andrews pp. 32, 33.

^b Part 2d, Sect. 8.

stood : and it, doubtless came from the same stupid irreverence, which has so often charged the Almighty with neglecting to fulfil his promises, as well as his menaces. "There shall come in the last days scoffers walking after their own lusts, and saying, where is *the promise* of his coming?" For charging God with a breach of *promise*, he made the Israelites wander forty years in the wilderness.^a

The Bible says that God "doth not afflict willingly, nor grieve the children of men:"^b yet, according to the above theory, all the sufferings of the creation in time and eternity are inflicted, not because the honour of God requires the execution of justice, but because he afflicts willingly and gratuitously. The distinguishing love of Christ, in taking upon him our nature, instead of the nature of fallen angels, is highly celebrated in the Scriptures : yet, according to this theory, his sufferings were unnecessary, as there was nothing in divine truth and justice, to hinder the salvation of men and devils without a Mediator.

But what saith the scripture about the faithfulness of God in the execution of his threatenings? "Hear this word that the Lord hath spoken against you, O Children of Israel! against the whole family which I brought up from the land of Egypt, saying, you only have I known of all the families of the earth : therefore I will punish you for all your iniquities." "As I live, saith the Lord, though Coniah, the son of Jehoiakim, King of Judah were the signet upon my right hand, yet would I pluck thee thence." "And also the strength of Israel will not lie nor repent : for he is not a man that he should repent."^c On the two first of these texts Winchester speaks well. Take a part of his remarks on the second. "Consider first, who speaks. Jehovah : He not only speaks, but confirms his *threatening* with an oath ; and because he can swear by no greater, he swore by himself, by his own life : 'As I live, saith, Jehovah, though Coniah, the son of Jehoiakim, King of Judah ; though he is of the family of David, with whom I have made an everlasting covenant, ordered in all things, and sure ; and though he is anointed King over my people ; I will not spare him : yea though he were the signet upon my right hand, yet would I pluck thee thence.' " In another place he says, "I as much believe as you or any other man can do, that all

^a 2 Pet. iii. 3, 4. Num. xiv. 3, 34.

^b Lam. iii. 33.

^c Amos vii. 2. Jer. xlii. 24. 1 Sam. xv. 29.

"the threatenings will be fulfilled upon the finally impenitent."^a Although Bishop Newton was an Universalist, he speaks on this subject in the following manner, viz. "If God will not execute as well as threaten, why doth he threaten at all? Is it not more suitable to the character of a God of truth, and becoming the simplicity and sincerity of a divine revelation, to declare the truth, and nothing but the truth, and leave it to work upon men as it can, rather than denounce, in the most solemn manner, what was never intended, and what shall never come to pass; and so endeavour to alarm them with false fears, and to work upon them with false persuasions, which have nothing to answer them?"^b

That the theory which we are opposing does impeach the veracity of the Almighty, as the Bishop here intimates, is evident from the third text quoted above, from 1 Sam. 15: 29. In the preceding verse, the prophet Samuel said to king Saul, "The Lord hath rent the kingdom of Israel from thee this day, and hath given it to a neighbour of thine that is better than thou." Although this, like other predictions, is given in an historical form, it is evidently a *threat*. Saul repented not of sin, but, as he had seen much of the forbearance of the God of Israel, he was tempted to hope that he would repent of his threatening, after the manner of earthly parents, who, through a sinful infirmity, neglect to inflict a threatened punishment. Samuel, aware of this, intimates unequivocally, that such a suspicion would virtually give the lie to his Maker. He therefore adds in the very next words to the threatening, "And also the strength of Israel will not lie nor repent: for he is not a man that he should repent."

What does the prophet mean by saying that God "is not a man that he should repent?" Do not the scriptures frequently ascribe repentance to God? Yes, but not man's sort of repentance. When man repents of a threatening, or neglects to execute it, we may account for it on the ground of caprice, corruption by bribery, or conviction of error; on the ground of forgetfulness or fickleness, fear, favour or feebleness. But none of these causes can justly be attributed to that God who is infinitely wise and powerful, steadfast, holy and upright. He has no such pusillanimous fears, nor personal partialities as would move him to pass by sins for which there is no atonement. His is the repentance of God

^a Dialogue 5th. Andrews p. 74.

^b Andrews, p. 27.

and not of man. He never repents of his threatenings against the finally impenitent, and whenever a man repents of sin, God never fails to repent of his previous threats against him. "At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to pluck up, and to pull down, and to destroy it; if that nation against whom I have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will *repent* of the evil that I thought to do unto them. And at what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to build and to plant it; if it do evil in my sight, that it obey not my voice, then I will *repent* of the good, wherewith I said I would benefit them."^a These are the gospel principles, in the maintenance of which, Jeremiah threatened the house of Israel. To these principles Jonah yielded a reluctant accordance when threatening the Ninevites. "Was not this my saying when I was yet in my country? Therefore I fled before unto Tarshish; for I knew that thou art a gracious God, and merciful, slow to anger, and of great kindness, and *repentest* thee of the evil."^b From Jonah or from Jonah's God, the king of Nineveh had learned the same doctrine: for which reason he proclaimed a fast, and said "Let man and beast be covered with sackcloth, and cry mightily unto God: yea, let them turn every one from his evil way, and from the violence that is in their hands. Who can tell if God will turn and *repent*, and turn away from his fierce anger, that we perish not."^c

These passages are abundant evidence in the question whether the threatening against Nineveh was absolute or conditional. If Jonah believed it to be absolute, why did he complain of that grace and mercy through which God remits the threatened punishment on condition of repentance and faith? If the Ninevites considered it absolute, why did they repent and believe, with the express hope that on these conditions, God would "repent and turn away from his fierce anger that we perish not?" If God intended it to be absolute, why did he publish, as an invariable rule of his universal government, that if a nation repented of the sin, he would repent of the evil? These things shew that the menace was really conditional; that it was so intended on the part of God, and that it was so understood by the prophet and those to whom he addressed it. They were to be destroyed in forty days unless they repented;—but they did repent;—there-

^a Jer. 18 : 7—10.

^b Jonah 4 : 2.

^c Jonah 3 : 8, 9.

fore the threat did not call for the immediate destruction of the identical offenders, but was accomplished without it.

Whether the same principle will apply to the threat against Adam for eating the forbidden fruit, need not now be discussed. "For in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die." Suffice it to say, that if this threat, like that against Nineveh, left room for the interposition of the seed of the woman, and if Adam laid hold of this gracious plan of salvation, as did the Ninevites, then there was no call for his destruction. In such a case it was not the intention of the Almighty that the punishment should be inflicted upon the offending individual, but upon that Saviour whom his faith embraced. If, by a living faith, he did receive the promise offered to him directly after his fall, then he was immediately justified; and in receiving forgiveness through faith, his sins were transferred by imputation to "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world;"^a in whom he died vicariously, as Isaac is said to have died and arisen again figuratively, in the ram which God sent to die in his place, as a type of his divine Surety.^b

But even supposing that Adam did not receive the offered mercy, does the language of the threat necessarily imply that he should expire within twenty-four hours of his transgression? Let it be remembered that this whole theory rests upon a restricted, and I might say, arbitrary interpretation of a monographical Hebrew particle. But this particle which is here used in connexion with *day*, and translated "*in the day*," is; in Numb. xxviii. 26, used in connexion with *weeks*, and as correctly translated, "*after the weeks*."^c Even if the threat had been executed a thousand years *after* that day instead of *in* that very day, the Apostle has told us that "one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day." This declaration is made by Peter for the very same purpose for which it is quoted here; to prove that "the Lord is not slack concerning his promise as some men count slackness."^d

The truth is that the prophetic Scriptures often, if not usually, speak of a thing as being done on the day in which a decree is published that it shall be done. Of this description is

^a Rev. xiii. 8.

^b Hebr. xi. 19.

^c This fact, though mentioned by Parkhurst, never occurred to me, until suggested by a Physician of this place, to whose kindness I am much indebted, is common with many of my Ministerial brethren.

^d 2 Pet. iii. 9.

that threatening which Samuel uttered against Saul, when he so forcibly assured him of the divine veracity in the execution of his menaces. "The Lord *hath rent* the kingdom of Israel "from thee **THIS DAY**, and *hath given* it to a neighbour of "thine that is better than thou." In respect of the date this threat is as express as that against Adam. The stripling who slew Goliath had not yet left his father's flocks. According to the theory now before us, the transfer of the kingdom from Saul to David is to take place *this day*, or the threatening is not fulfilled at all. Was this the meaning of Samuel? or did Saul understand it thus? Both of them proceed as if they considered it only the declaration of a decree which was as certainly to be accomplished hereafter, as if it had already been fulfilled on *this day*. Why is Christ called "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world," when, in fact, he was not literally slain until four thousand years after? Because the eternal decree of God, which contemplated this sacrifice, was published to Adam, in the promise of the seed of the woman to bruise the serpent's head; and because Adam commenced immediately to make believing draughts upon those resources of grace which, according to the purpose of God were "given us in Christ Jesus before the world began."^a In Paul's discourse to the people of Antioch,^b he shewed that David in Ps. ii. 7, spoke of the resurrection of Christ. "I "will declare the decree: The Lord hath said unto me, Thou "art my Son; *this day* have I begotten thee." Although the Son of God was mysteriously and incomprehensibly begotten of the Father from all eternity (for there can be no Father without a Son^c) yet was the body of Christ literally raised from the dead on *this day*, even the day on which David wrote? No: but the prophet declared the decree on *this day*; and this made his resurrection as certain as if it had already occurred; since it was the promise of that "God who quickeneth the "dead, and calleth those things which be not as though they "were."^d But if HE who is the author of language and the judge of language, has chosen, in infinite sovereignty, to adopt such a style of prophecy, as declares the death and resurrection of the second Adam to be already past, thousands of years before they come to pass, is it any wonder that he should speak of the death of the first Adam, as taking place hundreds of years before he expired? If, in the true, consistent, and intelligible language of prophecy, he declared that

^a 2 Tim. i. 9.
^b Acts xiii. 33.

^c Hebr. i. 3.
^d Rom. iv. 17.

David a type of Christ, had supplanted Saul, a type of Satan, on the very day of Saul's transgression, shall we impeach his veracity, when he declares that Adam shall die on the day of his transgression? If he who is seized with a mortal disease, or capitally condemned by the civil court, may say with truth, "I am a dead man," how much more emphatically may this be said of one against whom the sentence of heaven is past, and whose soul and body are seized with the leprosy of sin and mortality!

If therefore, the threat against Adam subjected him to disease and mortality, which is an inceptive death;—if it was pronounced in prophetic language which speaks of things in distant futurity as already past, and speaks of the publication of a decree as its substantial accomplishment;—if moreover, it was conditional, and that death which he afterward suffered was sent as a gracious blessing, instead of a legal curse;—then we say that the threat was executed in that sense in which it was intended to be performed, and according to the true import of language: wherefore, it was not only uttered as a measure of divine justice, but executed as an evidence of divine veracity.

When God pronounced the sentence of death upon Adam and the Ninevites, and when he says concerning all men, "the soul that sinneth, it shall die,"^a how can these threats be truly considered a measure of divine justice, without being executed? Justice is a distribution of rewards and punishments, according to our deserts. According to justice, sin must be punished wherever it is found, and no being must be punished without sin. As it would be unjust to punish one who had no guilt, either personal or imputed, so would it be unjust to permit any sin of any responsible being to escape, without its legal measure of punishment, either in the individual offender or an adequate substitute. That the plan of redemption is not only a glorious illustration of divine grace and mercy, but an equally glorious vindication of divine truth and justice, is manifest from the whole word of God, and sometimes most conspicuously from those passages which are obtrusively urged against this doctrine. In the case of the Ninevites we do not find Jonah dreading their forgiveness under an apprehension that God was deficient in truth or justice, but he says "I knew that thou art a gracious God and merciful." In the case of Adam we find that

^a Ez. 18: 4.

mercy and grace are revealed through the Seed of the woman. From a later writer we learn that this seed of the woman "is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth." ^a *The end of the law!* For what end was the law made? For obedience or disobedience? If the former then Christ, in becoming the end of the law, obeyed the law. Was the law made for the end that it might be prostrated, or that it might be satisfied? If Christ fulfilled all righteousness; if he magnified the law and made it honorable, ^b then, in becoming the end of the law, he satisfied all its demands preceptive and penal. This he did for the forensic justification of believers; for he became the end of the law *for righteousness*, (or justification,) to every one that believeth," whether in the time of Adam or Jonah, or John the Baptist or John Wickliffe; "For all have sinned and come short of the glory of God; being *justified* freely, by his *grace*, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus; whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his *blood*." As this redemption or propitiation was effected long after the time of these ancient transgressors, one might be tempted to question the righteousness of the most High, in the remission of these sins which were committed so long ago, and passed by with impunity by the forbearance of God. How can you at this time, vindicate the righteousness of God in this procedure? How can he be just, and the justifier of sinners who lived and died before the atonement was made? The very next words of the Apostle, to those last quoted, are an answer to these enquiries. He represents God as setting forth this propitiation, not to relax his righteousness, or to shew how he can justify a sinner contrary to his justice; but "to declare his *righteousness* for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God; to declare, I say, at this time, his *righteousness*; that he might be *just*, and the *justifier* of him which believeth in Jesus." Now that the claims of the law are perfectly satisfied, through his one offering, in behalf of all believers in every age of the world, God's faithfulness and justice, which doom the impenitent to hell, require the *salvation*, of those who like the Ninevites, embrace the atonement. "If we confess our sins, he is *faithful* and *just* to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness." ^d

^a Rom. 10; 4.

^b Matt. iii. 15. Isa. xlii. 21.

^c Rom. iii. 23—26.

^d 1 John i. 9.

Before my remarks on the divine perfections, as they have a bearing upon future punishment, are brought to a close, it is right to take some notice of that incongruity which the enemies of God think that they see between his severer and milder attributes. How, they say, can he be merciful, if he must satisfy his justice by the infliction of punishments which we would suppose cruel in the extreme? Can he who requires the condign punishment of every sin, either in the offender or his substitute, be said to exercise any grace or forgiveness at all? and can that heart be ineffably tender, which can voluntarily witness the most excruciating anguish in his fallen creatures to all eternity? Such objectors think that it is impossible for God to be *just*, and at the same time the merciful and forgiving *justifier* of the believer; although the scriptures assure us that the reconciliation of these two things, in the salvation of sinners, was the reason why Jesus Christ was set forth as a propitiation.

If it would derogate from the mercy of God to inflict the threatened punishment upon Adam, what shall we say of the fact that through his sin, the whole world is brought into a state of sin and misery? "For the creature was made "subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who "hath subjected the same in hope." What shall we say of the fact that, on account of this general and involuntary subjection to vanity, through Adam, "the whole creation groan- "eth and travaileth in pain together until now?"^a This takes place under the sovereign superintendence and the omniscient inspection of that God who is infinitely merciful as well as infinitely just. He is a voluntary witness of the cries of nascent infancy, the agonies of mature vigour, and the groans of expiring age. In the appropriate exercise of infinite tenderness of heart, he beholds his rebellious creatures in every country, and in every period of their protracted history, writhing under the pressure of sickness and sin, penury and persecution. He commissions his angels to destroy them; and his own providence sends the sword and pestilence, hurricane and earthquake, fire, flood and famine, to sweep millions from a life of suffering here, to fiercer and more enduring pains in another world: yet these terrible things in righteousness are consistent with infinite mercy.

Even in the same human bosom we sometimes find such a mixture of mercy and justice,—of lovely softness, and awful sternness, as excites the admiration of mankind. Of this we

^a Rom. viii. 20, 22.

have a memorable example in the conduct of one whose name is dear to every American, and who was no less conspicuous for his love of peace, than for his skill in war. You all recollect that, under Providence, a single word from Washington could once have saved the life of Major Andre. Without detracting from the female character, it may be said with truth, that not a bosom among my fair audience, glows with more tender and unfeigned pity for suffering humanity, than did the breast of Washington. Yet justice steeled his heart against the united importunities of two contending nations. The law condemns the prisoner to death. The vital interests of our country demand the execution of the righteous sentence. But can no mitigation be allowed? Remember that it was not personal or political animosity, but professional enthusiasm that brought him to our shores. He traversed the ocean to heal a wounded heart, and seek for glory in a foreign land. Whether he shall die the most disgraceful death, or die at all, is now to be decided. The General's feelings, needing no excitement, have already been excited by numerous written petitions. At last the youthful, blooming, smiling, accomplished soldier stands before him. His person and his manners kindle the admiring eyes of myriads of spectators. Touched with the history of his life and his impending death, they turn their supplicating looks toward the arbiter of his fate. Compassion revelled in his bosom, glistened in his eye, and bedewed his manly cheek. But justice was enthroned in his inmost soul: and although the waves of popular desire added force to the flood of his own paternal feelings, they dashed against a rock which hid its summit in the clouds, and its base in the centre of the earth. He pitied but he pardoned not.

Hear what the God of justice and mercy says concerning impenitent convicts. "I will not pity, nor spare, nor have mercy, but destroy them;"^a or as the margin reads, "*nor have mercy from destroying them;*" that is, *pity shall not make me spare them, nor mercy keep me from destroying them*, "But is there no balm in Gilead? Is there no Physician there?" "Let Israel hope in the Lord: for with the Lord there is mercy, and with him is plenteous redemption." Every believer is "justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus." "In him mercy and truth are met together: righteousness and peace have kissed each other."^b

^a Jer. xlii. 14. Lam. ii. 2. Zech. xi. 6.

^b Jer. viii. 22. Ps. cxxx. 7. Rom. iii. 24. Ps. lxxxv. 10.

Without this interposition of the Son of God to procure mercy for us, by satisfying justice for us, sinners never could have been saved in consistency with the divine attributes, and, therefore, never could have been saved at all. And so far is this plan from not deserving the name of *mercy* or *grace*, because justice is satisfied, this is the very consideration which enhances the lustre of these perfections beyond all conception. To forgive at the expense of purity or veracity, claims not our admiration; to save without a sacrifice is cheap and easy, and claims comparatively little gratitude. But when God's justice, which is essential to his nature, required that the sins of his enemies should be fully punished either in their own persons, or in his eternal Son, the only adequate substitute which the universe afforded; his interposition with such a sacrifice, may well excite the admiration of angels, and the contrition and eternal gratitude of all his blood-bought people. The sweetest ingredient in the glorious cup of salvation, is, that when immutable justice called for our destruction, "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son [the just for the unjust] that whosoever believeth in him should not perish but have everlasting life."

IV. In connexion with the severer attributes of God, it was proposed to infer the doctrine of eternal punishment from the scriptural account of sin. It is not my intention here to discuss the question, whether there is or is not an infinite evil in every sin. You may easily conjecture my reason for omitting an argument which has been deemed of so much importance in this controversy, by President Edwards, Dr. Wylie, and other excellent writers. My remarks might possibly be adopted with equal ease by them, and by their brethren who deny that absolute infinity belongs to a creature or any of his actions; and who believe that there is as much of an objective infinity in obedience as in disobedience. As the best men that have ever lived, inspired or uninspired, have had reason to pray that God would convince them of secret faults, it is probable that none but the infinite mind can ever see the least sin of the least sinner, in the extent of its turpitude.

But let us see how universalism represents this greatest of all evils. My opponent speaks in the following language, viz. "As the diseases of the body are mere privations, of health, so the disorders of the mind are all *merely negative*,

^a John iii. 16. 1 Pet. iii. 18.

"a lack or want of their contrary virtues ; the same as darkness is nothing more than the absence or want of light. Hence ignorance, folly, injustice, hatred, cruelty, &c. are only the want of knowledge, wisdom, justice, love, mercy, &c. and therefore these are the sovereign remedies for the mind. Yea, all the remedies for the moral maladies and vices of the human heart, are to be sought for in their contrary virtues." ^a Take notice, he declares that all sin is *negative* ; and not only so, but it is "*merely negative* ;" that is, there is nothing positive about it : and he applies this remark to such sins as "injustice, hatred, cruelty, &c." Now is it true that a man may lie, and cheat his neighbour and pollute his family and incur no positive guilt ? Is there nothing more than a *mere negation* in swearing, gaming, sabbath-breaking, and intemperance ? Does my opponent give this view of sin when he is speaking of the real or supposed offences of orthodox christians ? What is it that gives such exquisite interest to the case of St. Augustine and his paramour, the case of John Knox and Cardinal Beaton, and especially that of Calvin and Servetus ? At the very mention of these subjects in an heretical circle, animation fills every heart, and eloquence moves every tongue. Every toad in the company thinks himself a pattern of purity and a giant of greatness. When they turn the conversation from characters of such transcendent talents, piety and usefulness, and contemplate the *real* faults of inferior men, their criminal code is revised and corrected ; sin is not quite so odious : and by the time they are at the bottom of the scale, among Universalists and Unitarians, Atheists and Libertines, sin becomes a *mere negation*. In a character of this description, deliberate murder would only be a want of love ! "Fools make a mock at sin :"^b and the necessary tendency of universalism towards this folly, shows its opposition to the Bible.

In that sacred volume we are taught that sin banished angels of light into eternal darkness. It was sin which removed Adam from the happy garden, and brought misery and death upon all his race. It was sin which destroyed the old world by water, and the fertile plain of Sodom by fire and brimstone. On account of sin, these elements shall melt with fervent heat ; and for sin, he who made the world, and wields these elements, was made a whole burnt offering. "Hereby perceive we the love of God, because he laid down his life for us."^c So odious is sin that it must be fully pun-

^a Lectures, p. 195.

^b Prov. xiv. 9.

^c 1 John, iii. 16.

ished even when found imputed to the Holy Jesus. So hateful is it, beyond a parallel, that the Apostle, for the want of a worse description, called sin "exceeding sinful,"^a because there was nothing else as bad as itself. The purity of heaven cannot receive it; for "there shall in no wise enter into it any thing that defileth, neither whatsoever worketh abomination, or maketh a lie, but they which are written in the Lamb's book of life."^b The holiness of God cannot bear it. "Thou art of purer eyes than to behold evil, and canst not look on iniquity."^c He requires holiness in all his glorified subjects. "Follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord."^d His justice requires the punishment even of those sins which are committed while undergoing the punishment of former offences. "Every transgression and disobedience receiveth a *just* recompense of reward."^e Thus does the scriptural account of sin, in connexion with the inspired account of God's holiness and justice, infer the eternal punishment of the finally impenitent.

V. We infer the same doctrine from what the Bible says of the helplessness of sinners. Here I shall undertake to speak but little of a distinction which some affect between natural and moral inability, whereby they would prove that a man who can do *nothing* without Christ, can do *every thing* without him. My sentiments on this subject, are those of the reformation; those which Luther advocated in opposition to Erasmus; those which the Westminster Assembly adopted; those which the Presbyterians of Scotland and America have received; those which the General Assembly of our church have ratified by a judicial decision; and those which are found in the oracles of God. I believe sincerely, as I professed to believe, when consenting to the Confession of Faith in my ordination, that "man, by his fall into a state of sin, hath wholly lost all ability of will to any spiritual good accompanying salvation: so as a natural man being altogether averse from that which is good, and dead in sin, is not able by his own strength, to convert himself, or to prepare himself thereunto;" that sinners "are utterly indisposed, disabled and made opposite to all good, and wholly inclined to all evil;" that "their ability to do good

^a Rom. vii. 13.

^c Habb. i. 13.

^e Heb. ii. 2.

^b Rev. xxi. 27.

^d Heb. xii. 14.

"works is not at all of themselves, but wholly from the Spirit of Christ."^a

These declarations describe our condition in a state of nature, while unconnected with an Almighty Redeemer; and let it be remembered that Mr. Winchester admits that some are "eternally deprived of the glories and honours of the kingdom of Christ." According to the Scriptures, some of these characters owe five hundred pence, and others fifty, and they have "nothing to pay." Joshua says, "*ye cannot serve the Lord.*" Our Saviour says, "Without me *ye can do nothing.*" Paul says, "the carnal mind is enmity against God; for it is not subject to the law of God, *neither indeed can be.*" "So then, they that are in the flesh *cannot please God.*" "Strive to enter in at the strait gate; for many, I say unto you, shall strive to enter in, and *shall not be able.*" "Then said Jesus again unto them, I go my way, and ye shall seek me, and shall die in your sins. Whither I go, *ye cannot come.*" "For the grave *cannot praise thee*, death *cannot celebrate thee*. They that go down into the pit, *cannot hope for thy truth.*" Thus there are many who are without Christ forever;—But without Christ they have nothing to pay their debt; they can do nothing; they cannot serve God; they cannot submit to his law; they cannot please him by faith in his gospel, for ("without faith it is impossible to please him;") they are not able to enter in at the strait gate; they cannot come to him in Heaven; they cannot hope in him when dying, nor praise nor celebrate him among the redeemed beyond the grave.—If they can do none of these things, can they be saved? Blessed be Jehovah, God of Israel, that "when we were yet without strength, in due time, Christ died for the ungodly;" that, when we were helpless, God "laid help upon One that is Mighty;" and that although Christ has said "*no man can come to me*, except the Father which hath sent me draw him," yet he has also said, "all that the Father giveth me shall come to me; and him that cometh to me, I will in no wise cast out." Although, as a punishment of sin, we are justly doomed to spiritual death, a state of powerless corruption and misery, yet it is promised, "thy people shall be willing in the day of *thy power.*" As ours is a guilty helplessness, it does not release us from the obligations of the law or of the gospel, the spirit says, "work out your salvation with fear and trembling:" and to encourage sinners to look for divine assistance, it is added, "for it

^a Confession of Faith, chap. 9. sect. 3. Chap. 6, sect. 3. Chap. 16. sect. 3.

is God which worketh in you, both to will and to do of his good pleasure."^a

VI. In connexion with the helpless condition of sinners, we proposed inferring the doctrine of their eternal punishment, from the character, influence, and dominion of that society to which the curse has exposed and subjected them. It is a very plain, though involuntary acknowledgment of the strength of this argument, when universalists, in order to elude its force, deny the very existence of fallen angels. This is evidently done through the suggestion of the devil, and to serve his purposes. When an army approaches unobserved, within cannon shot of our camp, while we believe that they are not in existence, this is as they would have it: and that traitor who had lulled us into this fatal repose, in opposition to many faithful warnings, would be considered their humble servant. When this deceit of satan and his servants takes effect, it is no wonder that sinners are "taken captive by him at his will." "When any one heareth the word of the kingdom, and understandeth it not, then cometh the wicked one and catcheth away that which was sown in his heart." "The tares are the children of the wicked one. The enemy that soweth them is the devil." "If our gospel be hid, it is hid to them that are lost; in whom the God of this world hath blinded the minds of them which believe not, lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them." "He that committeth sin is of the devil, for the devil sinneth from the beginning." "Ye do the deeds of your father." "Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do: he was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him. When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own: for he is a liar and the father of it." "O full of all subtilly and all mischief: thou child of the devil! thou enemy of all righteousness! wilt thou not cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord?" "If I, with the finger of God, cast out devils, no doubt, the kingdom of God is come upon you. When a strong man armed, keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace: but when a stronger than he shall come upon him, and overcome him, he taketh from him

^a Matt. xviii, 24. Luke vii, 41, 42. John xv, 5. Josh. xxiv, 19. Rom. viii, 7, 8. Heb. xi, 6. Luke xiii, 24. John viii, 21. Isa. xxxviii, 18. Rom. 5, 6. Ps. lxxxix, 19. John vi, 44, 57. Ps. cx, 3. Phil. ii, 12, 13.

all his armour wherein he trusted, and divideth his spoils." Although the Divine Saviour, this stronger man, has delivered many captives, there are still many, who, according to Mr. Winchester's own acknowledgment, "will be eternally deprived of the glories and honours of the kingdom of Christ." According to the above Scriptures, the devil is a strong man, and these *lost* and *blinded* sinners are his captives; the devil is a father, and they are his children. As might be expected, they resemble each other. He perverted the right ways of the Lord, and so do they; he is a sinner, an enemy of all righteousness, a liar and a murderer, and so are they. As Christ is the only deliverer, and as these sinners have, to their own eternal destruction, renounced any dependance upon him, they must continue forever, under the instruction and example, dominion and oppression, of this more than Egyptian tyrant. An aggravation of their hopeless case is, that they must still continue to be rational and responsible beings. Their corruption and guilt must forever increase, and consequently, to all eternity, the cloud of vengeance must thicken over them, and the pit of their suffering shall be without bottom.

SECOND ORTHODOX ARGUMENT.

IMPLICATION.

This argument is inexhaustible: for every commandment of the law implies a sanction; every promise of the gospel implies a threat against gospel despisers; and every expression of approbation to those who repent, believe, or obey, who are justified, adopted, or sanctified, implies the condemnation of the contrary character. A few passages of Scripture, which come under the form of insinuation, supposition, and interrogation, shall serve as specimens of implication.

1. *Insinuation.* Is not our Saviour's declaration against hypocrites, that "they have their reward," an insinuation that they have only a temporal reward? Is not the Psalmist's declaration concerning "men of the world, who have their portion in this life," an insinuation that they have no portion in another life? When the Apostle Paul said "godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come," did he not insinuate that the ungodly were without the blessing of heaven here and hereafter? When our Saviour said, "he that

a 2 Tim. ii. 26. Matt. xiii 19, 38—43. 2 Cor. iv. 3, 4. 1 John iii. 9, 10. John viii 41 44. Acts. xiii. 10. Luke xi. 20—22.

"believeth on me hath everlasting life," and "he that believeth on me shall never thirst," did he not insinuate that unbelievers shall have their portion in the lake of fire, which is the second death, and in which there is not a drop of water to quench their thirst? All these questions are plainly answered by a voice directed from heaven to an inhabitant of this lake. "But Abraham said, son, remember that thou in thy life-time receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things: but now he is comforted, and thou art tormented."

When our Saviour promises mercy and comfort, satisfaction and sanctification, a royal inheritance, and a heavenly reward, to the poor in spirit, the mourners, the meek and merciful, the pure, the persecuted, and the peace makers, is not an opposite destiny insinuated against opposite characters? When Peter says by the spirit of God, "he that fear-eth him, and worketh righteousness is accepted with him," is it not an insinuation that the presumptuous and disobedient shall be rejected? When Paul says that the gospel "is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth," does he not insinuate that the gospel shall not save the unbeliever? When our Saviour says, "blessed is he, whosoever shall not be offended in me," and "he that endureth to the end shall be saved," is it not an insinuation that those who are offended with Christ, and turn back from following him, shall not be blessed or saved? In the doctrinal, experimental, and practical reception of christianity, there are many dangers to encounter, and many prejudices and corruptions to overcome. Our Saviour says, "to him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me on my throne." What does this insinuate concerning those who are led captive by the world, the flesh, and the devil?^a

2. *Supposition.* Although all the passages advanced under this head, are hypothetical expressions, all of them, except the last, contain almost as manifest an innuendo as those which have been adduced above. "Behold I stand at the door and knock: IF any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him and he with me." "IF any man therefore purge himself from these, he shall be a vessel unto honor." These passages imply that those who are not cleansed, and who do not open the door, shall be banished from Christ, and treated with

^a Matt. vi. 2, 16. Luke xvi. 25. In. vi. 47, 35. Rev. xx. 14. Ps. xvii. 14. Matt. v. 3-12. Acts. x. 35. Rev. iii. 21. Matt. xi. 6, 10; 22. Rom. i. 16.

contempt: and this is elsewhere called an "everlasting contempt." Concerning false teachers, our Saviour says, "IF it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect." Does not this imply that all others are fatally deceived? Paul says, "let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed LEST he fall." If none could fall, by mistaking the ground upon which he stood, why this caution? The same caution against resting in a form of godliness without the power, and thus falling short of real religion, is taught in the following passage. "Looking diligently, LEST any man fail of the grace of God; LEST any root of bitterness springing up trouble you, and thereby many be defiled; LEST there be any fornicator or profane person, as Esau, who for one morsel of meat, sold his birth right." The sequel proves what is here implied; that these characters, like Esau, are rejected of God. "For if they escaped not who rejected him that spake on earth, much more shall not we escape, IF we turn away from Him that speaketh from Heaven."^a

My last text, which I observed, did not contain an inuendo, may be considered as amounting to positive proof, although it contains a supposition. "The Son of man goeth, as it is written of him; but woe unto that man by whom the Son of man is betrayed! it had been good for that man IF he had not been born."^b

On this passage my opponent, with great confidence, repeatedly challenges me to meet him. The following are his words, viz. "I am willing to take the person and character of the traitor Judas, as the entire subject of the debate, to decide the question under discussion; and if my opponent can prove that Judas is to be eternally miserable, I admit that he proves his doctrine; but if I prove from the testimony of the inspired writers, that there is as much reason to believe he will be saved, as there is to believe that any of the other disciples will be saved, then he has lost the argument. If my opponent will not meet me on this, or on any other argument, you, my hearers, will say it is because he dare not." "I am not ashamed to appear before this audience as the advocate for the final salvation of even Judas, and if I am not able to prove that we have the same reason for believing in his final and eternal happiness, as we have to believe in the salvation of Peter or of Paul, I

^a Rev. iii. 20. 2 Tim. ii. 21. Matt. xxiv. 24. 1 Cor. x. 12. 9. 27. Heb. xii. 15-17, 25. Jer. iv. 4. 17. 27. 21. 12. Am. 5. 6.

^b Matt. xxvi. 24.

“ must give up to my opponent, and acknowledge he has
 “ gained his argument. I must have the same hope for the
 “ salvation of Judas as I have for my own, or my faith in uni-
 “ versal salvation is without foundation. Could I not prove
 “ from the testimony of the scriptures that Judas is finally to
 “ be saved, I tell you, my hearers, I could not so boldly ad-
 “ vocate the doctrine of universal redemption ; upon the sal-
 “ vation of Judas, therefore, I rest the truth of my doctrine.
 “ Judas, we acknowledge, was guilty, he was a traitor ; but
 “ show me the law which requires that he should be endless-
 “ ly miserable, that is, punished to an absolute eternity for
 “ what he did.”^a

In the above challenges, my opponent seems confident that Judas is as safe as any other Apostle, but at other times, he appears to think him much safer than one of them. One would almost think that he was afraid of Peter's being lost, because he was so much more hard-hearted and impenitent than his beloved Judas. The following are his words, viz.
 “ There is nothing in the whole history of Judas, that should
 “ cause us to suppose he will never be saved. If salvation
 “ be predicated on repentance, we have the same evidence,
 “ yea, if possible, better evidence of the repentance of Judas,
 “ than we have of the repentance of Peter. The one betrays
 “ his master, the other denies him : but what does Judas
 “ when he finds his master is in the hands of his enemies ?
 “ Does he, like Peter, cowardly deny him, with imprecations
 “ and curses ? No, he comes forward to the enemies of his
 “ Lord, and declares that he had sinned in that he ‘ had be-
 “ trayed innocent blood.’ He acknowledges and repents of
 “ his guilt, and bears honorable testimony to the innocence
 “ of Jesus. But the priests, having obtained their end, in
 “ the apprehension of our Lord, care not for this confession,
 “ but they say, ‘ What is that to us ? See thou to that.’ Does
 “ Judas rest contented, saying, well, I have got the money,
 “ and what I have done cannot now be undone ? No, he des-
 “ pises his ill-gotten gain ; ‘ he cast down the pieces of sil-
 “ ver’ at the feet of the priests, and went out, and ‘ was suf-
 “ fected with grief.’ I know that our common version of
 “ the scriptures, says, ‘ he went and hanged himself ;’ but
 “ it is the part of my opponent to prove that this is the mean-
 “ ing of the original, which he cannot do. How is the idea
 “ of his having hanged himself reconcileable with the account
 “ given in the book of Acts, of the death of Judas ? ‘ Fall-

^a Minutes, p. p. 77, 90.

“ing headlong, he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out.’ Acts i. 13. The learned Mr. Wakefield, who was no Universalist, translates the passage, “‘Then he threw down the pieces of silver in the temple, and withdrew : and after his departure, was choaked with anguish :’ and that excessive grief will produce this effect, all who know any thing of the effects of the passions on the body, must acknowledge. I would now ask, have we as much evidence of the sincerity of the repentance of those who come forward in our days, and declare themselves to be such great sinners in the sight of God and man? Do they make restitution in those instances in which they have injured their brother? I do sincerely wish that we had the same evidence of the sincere repentance of christians, in our day, as we have of the sincerity of Judas, when ‘he repented him, and brought again the thirty pieces of silver to the chief priests and elders.’ Matt. xxvii. 35. Let my opponent, now, if he feels himself able, meet me on this ground.”^a

In the above effusion, my Universalist opponent tries his talents for criticism. The following effort in the same way, is in his own words, viz. “The original text is ambiguous : it is literally ‘good were it for him, if that man were not born.’ It will admit of the following constructions, ‘Good were it for him (the Son of man) if that man (the traitor) were not born.’ Or, ‘good were it for him (the traitor) if that man (the Son of Man) were not born.’ Or, (what is more probably the true sense) ‘good were it for him (the traitor) if that man (the traitor) were not born.’ Or, lastly, (which is nearly the same in sense) ‘good were it for him, (the traitor) if he were not born that man.’ But ‘good were it for that man (the traitor) if he had never been born,’ (that is, *never existed*) is a construction that the words will not possibly bear. To prove this statement true, I have only to refer to a passage where similar expressions occur in the original. It is recorded in the book of Acts, chapter seven, that Stephen made an address to his accusers, in which he gives a history of all the great things which God had done for his people in former times, from the time when he appeared unto ‘our father Abraham, when he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Charan;’ when he comes to speak of Moses, he says, ‘at

^a Minutes, p. p. 92, 93.

" which time Moses was born, *ἐν ᾧ καιρῷ ἐγεννήθη Μωϋσής,*
 " where the same verb, *ἐγεννήθη*, translated 'was born' occurs
 " in the text in reference to Judas, '*εἰ οὐκ ἐγεννήθη ὁ ἀνθρώπος,*'
 " excepting that in the one, the idiom of our language requires
 " that it should be rendered in the indicative, and in the
 " other, being preceded by the conjunction *εἰ* If, in the sub-
 " junctive mood. Now what is the difference between these
 " two passages? The only difference is, that the latter has
 " the modifying particles *εἰ*, translated *if*, and the negative
 " *οὐκ not*, which, however, do not alter the meaning of the
 " verb, which is precisely the same in both. Now if the
 " verb *ἐγεννήθη* in the former, express the natural birth of
 " Moses, by what mode of reasoning can we cause *οὐκ ἐγεννήθη*
 " in the latter to signify absolute non-existence? That these
 " statements are literally true I appeal to our judges, and to
 " all learned men. If I am wrong let me be contradicted.—
 " Thus, you see, ends the discussion in relation to the dis-
 " pute on the meaning of the passage in reference to Judas.
 " Even my opponent dare not dispute the correctness of my
 " statement. [*Here Mr. Kennedy, the second of Mr. M'Calla,*
 " *one of the bench, arose and commenced some remarks but*
 " *was silenced by Mr. M'Calla.*] You see my hearers, that
 " his friend would have looked into the passage, but my op-
 " ponent shrinks from the decision; and you now see how
 " we stand on the subject to which I have called his atten-
 " tion, and on which I am perfectly willing to rest this dis-
 " cussion."^a

In the same strain my Universalist opponent speaks as
 follows, viz. "The phrase in relation to Judas, is '*καλον ην*
 " *αὐτῷ εἰ οὐκ ἐγεννήθη ὁ ἀνθρώπος εὖ εἰναι*, good were it for that man
 " if he had not been born.' My opponent says that the true
 " meaning is 'good were it for Judas if he had never had
 " any existence.' Now I ask, if Judas had never had a be-
 " ing, could any thing have been good for him? Could any
 " thing be good for you, my hearers, if you had never been
 " brought into existence? The idea of any thing being good
 " for Judas, implies in itself that he must have had a being."^b

He reasons at another time in the following words, viz.
 "I am willing to rest the salvation on the plain testimony of
 " God. This testimony, it is true, declares that 'by trans-
 " gression Judas fell, that he might go to his own place.'
 " Acts i. 25. But my opponent must prove that this place

^a Minutes, p. 89, 90.

^b Minutes, p. 78.

“is a place of endless misery. What says Jesus to his disciples? ‘ye which have followed me in the regeneration, when the Son of man shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.’ Matt. xix. 28. Let the time referred to here, be when it may, the promise was made to the twelve when Judas constituted one of them. It will not do to say, that the promise can be fulfilled by supplying the place of Judas by Matthias, who was elected after the ascension of our Lord. The promise was made to that twelve to whom Christ spake, ‘ye who have followed me,’ and that the testimonies should be true, to them it must be fulfilled. If my opponent feels disposed to dispute all this, he is at liberty, and I hope I shall be able to meet his arguments.”^a

Mr. Winchester’s mode of evading the force of this rigid authority, differs from that of my opponent. He thinks our Saviour’s declaration concerning Judas equivalent to those of Job and Jeremiah concerning themselves. They cursed the day in which they were born, thinking that non existence was preferable to such an existence as theirs. He understands this to be the meaning of our Saviour with regard to Judas; that non-existence is preferable to such an existence as his. This author agrees in his calmer moments, with the hasty and improper decision of Job and Jeremiah, that annihilation is preferable even to these comparatively light afflictions which are but for a moment. He speaks as follows, viz. “And who would not, a thousand times, choose rather never to have been born, than even to see, far less experience, the miseries which came upon Jerusalem and its inhabitants? Would it not have been better for mothers never to have been born, than to have killed and eaten their own children in the siege? and would it not have been better for the children never to have been born, than to have been food for their mothers?”^b He might as well have asked, was not annihilation preferable to the martyrdom of Ignatius and many others, who were food for lions? Surely not: because these martyrs inherit that everlasting glory which Mr. Winchester vainly expects for the devoted inhabitants of Jerusalem. If they were ever to attain this eternal joy, it is well for them to have been born; if, between their birth and their glorification, they had

^a Minutes, p. 91.

^b Dialogue 2nd.

to endure ten thousand sieges of Jerusalem. The infinite superiority of endless happiness over temporary pain shews the rashness of the complaints and wishes of the inspired mourners above mentioned. But was our Saviour rash? Was he under the influence of ignorance, impatience, or resentment, when after weighing the good and the evil of this traitor's career, he declared that annihilation was preferable to such an existence? "It had been good for that man if 'he had not been born.'"

After having rejected our translation, and amused the audience with a great variety of translations, my opponent at last agrees that the passage means, "good were it for him, (the traitor,) if that man, (the traitor,) were not born." The result, then, of his pedantic criticisms is this; that he has given us a translation agreeing with our own, and has accompanied it with a paraphrase which establishes our interpretation! "Good were it for him, (the traitor,) if that man, (the traitor,) were not born." It would be good for Judas, if he were not born: that is, if he were in a state of non-existence as he was before his birth. It is true that a state of non-existence has no positive good attending it; but is it not grammatical, intelligible and scriptural, to say that annihilation would be comparatively a blessing to that man, to whom existence is a curse? Yet this sort of language my opponent endeavours to shew is inconsistent with sound philosophy, and the usages of Greek writers. He would have us believe that the fact of Moses, being *born*, means the same thing as a supposition that Judas is *not born*, because the word *born* is used in both cases. He admits that the one is an affirmative and the other a negative: and yet by quoting a great deal of Greek, and using many grammatical terms, he calculates on making you believe that a fact and a supposition, an affirmative and a negative, mean the same thing. "Now what is the difference between these two passages?" he gravely asks. I know not how to do justice to his learning and his powers of reasoning, better than by putting his argument into a syllogistic, and almost a poetical form.

Major proposition. *ἐγὼ γάρ τῃ Μωϋσῆ= εἰ οὐκ ἐγεννήθη ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος*
εἰς τὸν κόσμον.

Minor proposition. Indicative, Subjunctive, Original, Particles, Idiom.

Conclusion. Therefore, to be born, and not to be born, both presuppose existence, and mean the same thing, according to the philosophy of the Universalists.

If the mere use of the same verb in relation to Moses and Judas, will authorize such a wild conclusion, then it is as true, that *Jonah swallowed the Whale*, as that *the Whale swallowed Jonah*, because not only the same verb but the same words throughout occur in both these propositions.

When the Scriptures declare that "by transgression Judas fell, that he might go to his own place,"^a my opponent says that his own place is one of those twelve thrones on which the Apostles shall judge the twelve tribes of Israel. He considers his right to this glory secured to him by the unconditional promise of Christ; and that veracity requires that he be enthroned.

It is freely admitted that veracity requires the fulfilment of every promise, as it certainly does the execution of every threat. But where do we find a promise that Judas shall inherit a crown of glory, with or without regeneration, repentance, or faith? The promise referred to, in Matt. xix. 28, is so far from being unconditional, that it expressly confines the benefits promised, to those who had forsaken all, and followed him, "in the regeneration." "Then answered Peter and said unto him, behold! *we have forsaken all, and followed thee*: what shall we have, therefore? And Jesus said unto them, verily I say unto you, that ye which have *followed me, in the regeneration*, when the Son of man shall sit in the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel." Here the enquiry is made, not concerning unbelievers and traitors, but concerning self-denied and faithful disciples. The promise which the answer contains, describes the same characters, "*ye which have followed me in the regeneration*." That regeneration is essential to entering the kingdom of heaven, our Saviour has expressly declared.^b That Judas was born again, at the time when this promise was given, will not probably be contended; and it will soon be seen that he had no saving interest in the *Christian dispensation*, which some will understand by *regeneration*. That he had not *forsaken all*, is evident from the reason which is given for his recommending that the ointment be sold, and the money given to the poor. "This he said, not that he cared for the poor; but because he was a thief, and had the bag, and bare what was put therein."^c This also makes it plain that he had not *followed* Christ: for he could not serve God and Mam-

^a Acts. i. 25.
^c In. xii. 6.

^b In. iii. 3, 5.

mon. That he followed the devil instead of Christ is manifest from scripture prophecy and history. Peter^a refers us to a Psalm which says, concerning him, "let Satan stand at his right hand." Peter, in quoting a part of this Psalm, the whole of which relates to Judas, says, "this scripture must needs have been fulfilled, which the Holy Ghost, by the mouth of David, spake concerning Judas, which was guide to them that took Jesus." As a fulfilment of the above scripture, it is expressly stated that "Satan entered into him:"^b and our Saviour himself says to these twelve Apostles, to whose persons identically and universally my opponent says the promise was made; to these twelve he says, "one of you is a devil."^c Did he afterward promise that this devil should be enthroned as a judge of his people? That very scripture which was fulfilled in his diabolical possession, declared that, instead of judging Israel, he himself should be judged and condemned; and that instead of being enthroned as an Apostle, another should take that office from which he fell by transgression. David says, "When he shall be judged let him be condemned; and let his prayer become sin. Let his days be few; and let another take his office." After the death of Judas, and the ascension of Christ, Peter says, "it is written in the book of Psalms, let his habitation be desolate, and let no man dwell therein: and his bishopric let another take." Accordingly, the Apostles pray God to appoint a successor, "that he may take part of this ministry and Apostleship, from which Judas by transgression fell, that he might go to his own place."^d To his own place! Is heaven that place, as my opponent says? "How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning!" Judas is not called a son of the morning, but he is called "a son of perdition;" and of course, perdition with Lucifer, is his own place. "The transgressors shall be destroyed together." "Judas by transgression fell." "The wicked shall be cut off from the earth, and the transgressors shall be rooted out of it."^e I ask not whether he was rooted out of the earth by involuntary suffocation, voluntary strangulation, or precipitation from the top of a rock. Certain it is, as my opponent acknowledges, that "falling headlong, he burst asunder, and all his bowels gushed out:" and it is no less certain that this was

^a Acts i. 16, 20.

^b In. xiii. 27.

^c John vi. 70.

^d Ps. cix. 7, 8. Acts i. 20, 25.

^e Ps. xxxvii. 38.

^f Prov. ii. 23.

predicted as an introduction to a place of cursing and not of blessing. "As he loved cursing, so let it come unto him : as he delighted not in blessing, so let it be far from him. As he clothed himself with cursing, like as with his garment, so let it come *into his bowels like water*, and like oil into his bones."^a What is the proper place of a fallen star but with those "wandering stars, to whom is reserved the blackness of darkness forever?"^b If Tophet be the proper place of a *thief and traitor*;—if perdition be the proper place of a "son of perdition;"—and if hell be the proper place of "a devil;"—then it is plain where this most conspicuous of hypocrites went, when he went "to his own place."

But my opponent says, "if salvation be predicated on repentance, we have the same evidence, yea, if possible, better evidence of the repentance of Judas, than we have of the repentance of Peter." Doubtless my opponent has read Campbell's preliminary dissertation on the word *repentance*, and has observed that the Scriptures generally use one word to signify *evangelical repentance*, which is the work of the Spirit of sanctification, and another word^d to denote that regret which is no way inconsistent with the most depraved disposition. In the Septuagint, it is used to denote the malignant chagrin of the Moabites, on being conquered by the Israelites. "And there was great repentance against Israel." In the Apocrypha, its conjugate is used to mark that repentance "which devoted sinners exercised" for having once performed their duty. "As for the ungodly, wrath came upon them without mercy unto the end; for he knew before, what they would do: how that having given them leave to depart, and sent them hastily away, they would *repent* and pursue them." In the Septuagint, it is used to denote that sorrow which the children of Israel felt for having left Egypt. "For God said, lest peradventure the people *repent* when they see war, and they return to Egypt." It is also used to point out the final and irremediable sorrow of the despisers of God's word and ordinances. "And thou *repent* at the last, when thy flesh and thy body are consumed."^e

That Judas' repentance was of this sort is evident from the fact that his remorse was unavailing. He was condemned and degraded by divine authority. "For it is written in the book of Psalms, "let his habitation be desolate, and let no

^a Ps. cix. 17, 18.

^b Jude xiii.

^c μετανοια

^d μεταμελεια

^e 2 Kgs. iii. 27. Wisd. xix. 2. Ex. xiii. 17. Prov. v. 11.

man dwell therein: and his bishopric let another take." Another was accordingly appointed, to "take part of this "ministry and apostleship, from which Judas by transgression, fell."a If he sincerely repented, why was he thus disgraced? God has said, "If we confess our sins, he is "faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us "from all unrighteousness."b Accordingly Peter was forgiven, and was never deposed from his office, either living or dying. Although he is not near so amiable a character as Judas, in the view of my opponent, yet before another judge, he was far more lovely. Was it ever said that he fell from his office by transgression, that he might go to his own place? His heart was set upon the place where Christ is, and thither Christ had promised that he should go. On his repentance he was immediately forgiven, and at his death he was immediately glorified. If Judas had repented sincerely, the same would have been true concerning him. It would therefore have been exceedingly good for him to have been born, if his life of suffering here had been prolonged to millions of ages. But now it is said, according to my opponent's translation and paraphrase, "Good were it for him (the traitor) if that man (the traitor) were not born." Was this ever said of Peter? or could it be said of him with truth? It may be said with truth, that no possible degree of suffering, howsoever protracted, can make it good for a man not to have been born, if that suffering be succeeded by eternal happiness;—But infallible wisdom and veracity have declared, "It had been good for that man if he had not been born;"—Therefore his punishment is absolutely eternal.

The evidence of Judas' condemnation to the torments of hell is so overwhelming, that Mr. Winchester, however reluctantly, admitted it; although he vainly *supposed* that his punishment in hell would not be absolutely eternal. The following extract will show his sentiments, viz. "If such a "man [as Job] had reason to say 'wherefore then hast thou "brought me forth out of the womb? O that I had given up "the ghost, and no eye had seen me! I should have been as "though I had not been; I should have been carried from "the womb to the grave,' (see Job x. 18, 19,) with what "amazing propriety might Christ say of Judas, the traitor, "who sinned in such a dreadful manner, and had such horrible guilt on his conscience: who died in black despair, "perished in such an awful situation, *in his sins*, and, proba-

a Acts i. 20, 25.

b 1 John i. 9.

"bly, by his own hands, who suffered the most violent agitations of mind, died under the power of the horrid suggestions of the great enemy of men, without one smile or look of forgiveness, from Jesus, or even daring to seek it; whose sorrow in this life far exceeded Job's, (for Job had no sense of guilt, treason, and ingratitude; nor was he filled with rage, blasphemy and despair) and who must probably have his portion in the second death;—[Well may he say of such a character,] 'good were it for that man if he had never been born!' even upon the *supposition* that his torments are not designed to continue while God exists."^a

As my opponent has exhibited a great anxiety to refer the case of Judas to a human tribunal, and as he has, without my consent, applied to the moderators for their decision, what would he think of having his criticisms and arguments referred to Mr. Winchester, who, as well as my opponent, may be considered as receiving his ordination in an uninterrupted line, from this true Universalist Apostle. My opponent says that the original "words will not possibly bear" the construction "good were it for that man (the traitor) if he had never been born." Mr. Winchester uses these very words, "good were it for that man, if he had never been born," as the correct translation, and in the very meaning which my opponent says "the words will not possibly bear." In his day Universalism had not discovered, that a sufficient quantity of grammar and Greek would prove, that *to be born*, and *not to be born* meant the same thing. My opponent would persuade you that when Judas passed through the dark valley and shadow of death, he had the rod and staff of his heavenly shepherd to comfort him; Mr. Winchester intimates that he was attended by a very different character; that he "died under the power of the horrid suggestions of the great enemy of men, without one smile, or look of forgiveness, from Jesus, or even daring to seek it." Not so with Peter. My opponent would urge that the traitor died by excess of pious grief; Mr. Winchester admits that he "suffered the most violent agitations of mind," and that this arose from "horrible guilt on his conscience," but so far was he from believing that this noted convict obtained relief from guilt, and was filled with hope and love, he believed that he was *filled* with *ingratitude* and "rage, blasphemy and despair." My opponent insists that he died a true penitent,

^a Dialogue 2d.

cleansed from sin, without the guilt of suicide, and that he went to his own throne of glory, and not to his own place of torment. Mr Winchester believes that he died in "an awful situation, in his sins, and probably by his own hands," "and must probably have his portion in the second death." Yes, Mr. Winchester believes that this traitor lived and died without an interest in Christ the only Saviour; and that he *probably* killed himself, and that he will *probably* suffer the punishment of his crimes in that hell which is after death. When one Universalist *flatly* denies the truth, it is pleasant to hear another admit, that the truth is *probably* true.

3. *Interrogation.* This familiar figure of speech differs from a simple affirmation, chiefly in its being a more animated mode of expression. The doctrine of the divine omnipotence and incomprehensibility, and of the pitiable impotency, and hereditary depravity of man, are not more pointedly asserted by the most direct affirmation, than by such expressions as the following; "Is the Lord's hand waxed short?" "Is any thing too hard for the Lord?" "Canst thou by searching, find out God? Canst thou find out the Almighty unto perfection?" "Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots?" "Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean? Not one."^a

Aware of the force of this argument, my opponent treats it as follows, viz. "I admit the force of a statement, by way of *interrogation*, on subjects that are self-evident, or, are not disputed, but no disputed proposition, it is evident, can be settled by this species of argument."^b This view of the subject is quite original. If correct, it would make a great deal of the Bible as worthless as waste paper. That the views and wishes of writers and speakers, inspired and uninspired, in relation not only to axioms, but to matters of fact and reasoning, can be perspicuously communicated in the form of interrogation, is so obvious, and a matter of such constant experience, that courts of justice have, time immemorial, interposed their authority to prevent attorneys from asking leading questions to witnesses; because these questions shew how the party wishes them answered. But all the questions in the Bible shew the belief or desire of him who asks them; and this belief or desire is communicated in the interrogative form, not because it is equivocal, but because it is the very contrary, and exhibits the

^a Num. xi. 23. Gen. xviii. 14. Job xi. 7. Jer. xiii. 23. Job xiv. 4.

^b Minutes p. 70.

sentiment with greater force. I never knew this principle denied by any man of common sense, my opponent only excepted. Mr. Ballou, in quoting the question, "how can ye escape the damnation of hell?" declares that when our Saviour proposed this interrogatory to his wicked audience, "he pronounced on them the damnation of hell."^a Thus, according to him, and according to every man who understands language, a threat or prediction, no way evident, but involving a disputed point, may be unequivocally pronounced in the form of interrogation.

In the same spirit of this denunciation of our Saviour,^b Peter says, "if the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear?" The foregoing question tells us that they will appear in hell; from which the impossibility of escaping is often urged. "How shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation?" God says by Jeremiah, "How shall I pardon thee for this?" Our Saviour says, "What is a man advantaged if he gain the whole world, and lose himself, or be cast away?" or according to another Evangelist, "What is a man profited if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?"^c

The only subterfuge which my opponent is observed to use, in order to escape the last authority, is, that "the word here rendered *soul*, is rendered *life*, in the verse immediately preceding."^d In answer to this, let it be remarked that as the soul has a death of its own, so has the soul a life of its own: and this very preceding verse is directly in proof that it is the life of the soul that is here meant. "For whosoever will save his [bodily] life, shall lose it, [the life of his soul.] and whosoever will lose his [bodily] life, for my sake, shall find it, [the life of his soul.] For what is a man profited if he gain the whole world, and lose [the life of] his own soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for [the life of] his soul?" That this is the meaning in a similar passage of Job is plain. "For what is the hope of the hypocrite, though he hath gained, when God taketh away his soul? Will God hear his cry, when trouble cometh upon him? Will he delight himself in the Almighty? will he always call upon God?" Universalism answers these

^a Notes on parable 26th.

^b Matt. xxiii. 33.

^c Matt. xxiii. 33. 1 Peter iv. 18. Hebr. ii. 3. Jer. v. 7. Luke ix. 25. Matt. xvi.

^d Minutes p. 55.

^e xxvii 8, 10:

“ questions in one way, and it is evident that God intended “ them to be answered in another.”

THIRD ORTHODOX ARGUMENT.

CONTRAST.

It was proposed to show that the scriptures mark such a *contrast* between the righteous and the wicked, as to their character, standing, and future destiny, as can be satisfactorily explained on no other ground than the doctrine of the eternal punishment of the ungodly. As many more authorities must be quoted here than in the last argument, time forbids that my comments should be frequent or copious: neither will it be of any use to repeat several passages or their parallels, which have already been quoted for other purposes.^b

The distinction between Mount Gerizzem and Mount Ebal was not more marked, that were the condition and prospects of those who were so abundantly blessed from the one, and those who were cursed from the other.^c “ Behold “ I set before you this day a blessing and a curse: a blessing, “ if ye obey the commandments of the Lord your God, which I “ command you this day; and a curse, if ye will not obey “ the commandments of the Lord your God; but turn aside “ out of the way which I command you this day, to go after “ other Gods which ye have not known.”^d “ For evil doers “ shall be cut off: but those that wait upon the Lord, they “ shall inherit the earth. For yet a little while, and the wicked shall not be: yea, thou shalt diligently consider his “ place, and it shall not be.”^e But the meek shall inherit the “ earth; and shall delight themselves in the abundance of “ peace. The wicked plotteth against the just, and gnasheth upon him with his teeth. The Lord shall laugh at “ him: for he seeth that his day is coming. The wicked “ have drawn out the sword, and have bent their bow; to “ cast down the poor and needy, and to slay such as be of “ upright conversation. Their sword shall enter into their

^a Job xi. 20, 26: 18. Ps. xix. 6,—9. Hebr. xii. 25.

^b Luke vi. 20.—26. 2 Tim. ii. 20, 21. Ps. xxii. 29. Ez. xvii. 24. Gen. xii. 3. Ps. xvii. 14.

^c Deut. Chapters 27 & 28.

^d Deut. 11; 26—28.

^e Neither the original nor the translation gives any countenance to the opinion of my opponent or of the destructionists, that there shall be no wicked persons hereafter; but only that they shall be *brought to naught*, by falling from a high to a low condition;—by suffering the disappointment of their vain expectations;—and receiving the punishment of their many sins.

own heart, and their bows shall be broken. A little that a righteous man hath, is better than the riches of many wicked. For the arms of the wicked shall be broken : but the Lord upholdeth the righteous. The Lord knoweth the days of the upright : and their inheritance shall be forever. They shall not be ashamed in the evil time : and in the days of famine they shall be satisfied. But the wicked shall perish, and the enemies of the Lord shall be as the fat of lambs : they shall consume : into smoke shall they consume away. The wicked borroweth and payeth not again : but the righteous sheweth mercy and giveth. For such as be blessed of him shall inherit the earth ; and they that be cursed of him shall be cut off.”^a “Shew thy marvellous loving kindness, O thou that savest, by thy right hand them which put their trust in thee, from those that rise up against them.” “Arise O Lord ! disappoint him, cast him down : deliver my soul from the wicked, which is thy sword.” “As for me, I will behold thy face in righteousness ; I shall be satisfied when I awake, with thy likeness.”^b “Do they not err that devise evil ? but mercy and truth shall be to them that devise good.”^c “By the blessing of the upright, the city is exalted ; but it is overthrown by the mouth of the wicked.”^d “They shall be ashamed, and also confounded, all of them : they shall go to confusion together, that are makers of idols. But Israel shall be saved in the Lord with an everlasting salvation : ye shall not be ashamed nor confounded, world without end.”^e “He preserveth not the life of the wicked, but giveth right to the poor.”^f “Envy thou not the oppressor, and choose none of his ways : for the froward is abomination to the Lord : but his secret is with the righteous. The curse of the Lord is in the house of the wicked : but he blesseth the habitation of the just. Surely he scorneth the scornors : but he giveth grace unto the lowly. The wise shall inherit glory : but shame shall be the promotion of fools.”^g “Whosoever heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man, which built his house upon a rock ; and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house, and it fell not ; for it was founded upon a

^a Ps. xxxvii. 9—22.

^b Ps. xvii. 7, 13, 15.

^c Prov. xiv. 22.

^d Prov. xi. 11.

^e Is. lxxv. 16, 17.

^f Job xxxvi. 6.

^g Prov. iii. 32—35.

"rock. And every one that heareth these sayings of mine,
 "and doeth them not, shall be likened unto a foolish man,
 "which built his house upon the sand: and the rain descend-
 "ed, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat up-
 "on that house, and it fell; and great was the fall of it."^a
 "Who then, is a faithful and wise servant, whom his Lord
 "hath made ruler over his household, to give them meat in
 "due season? Blessed is that servant, whom his Lord, when
 "he cometh, shall find so doing. Verily I say unto you,
 "that he shall make him ruler over all his goods. But and
 "if that evil servant shall say in his heart, my Lord delay-
 "eth his coming, and shall begin to smite his fellow servants,
 "and to eat and drink with the drunken; the Lord of that
 "servant shall come in a day when he looketh not for him,
 "and in an hour that he is not aware of, and shall cut him
 "asunder, and appoint him his portion with the hypocrites,
 "there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth."^b "Take,
 "therefore, the talent from him, and give it unto him which
 "had ten talents. For unto every one that hath, shall be
 "given, and he shall have abundance: but from him that
 "hath not, shall be taken away even that which he hath.
 "And cast ye the unprofitable servant into outer darkness:
 "there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth."^c "He an-
 "swered and said unto them, because it is given unto you to
 "know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, but to them
 "it is not given. For whosoever hath, to him shall be given,
 "and he shall have more abundance; but whosoever hath
 "not, from him shall be taken away even that he hath."^d
 "As it is written, Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I
 "hated." "Therefore hath he mercy on whom he will have
 "mercy, and whom he will, he hardeneth." "Hath not the
 "potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one
 "vessel unto honor, and another unto dishonor? What if
 "God, willing to shew his wrath, and to make his power
 "known, endured with much long-suffering, the vessels of
 "wrath fitted to destruction; and that he might make known
 "the riches of his glory on the vessels of mercy, which he
 "had afore prepared unto glory."^e "Thou hast hid these
 "things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them
 "unto babes."^f "For the Lord knoweth the way of the
 "righteous: but the way of the ungodly shall perish."^g "And

^a Matt. vii. 24-27.

^b Matt. xxiv. 45-51.

^c Matt. xxv. 28-31.

^d Matt. xiii. 11, 12.

^e Rom. ix. 13, 18, 20-23.

^f Matt. i. 25.

^g Ps. i. 6.

"the afflicted people thou wilt save: but thine eyes are upon
 "the haughty, that thou mayest bring them down." ^a "For
 "behold the day cometh that shall burn as an oven; and all
 "the proud, yea, and all that do wickedly, shall be stubble:
 "and the day that cometh shall burn them up, saith the Lord
 "of Hosts, that it shall leave them neither root nor branch.
 "But unto you that fear my name, shall the Son of righte-
 "ousness arise, with healing in his wings; and ye shall go
 "forth, and grow up as calves of the stall. And ye shall
 "tread down the wicked; for they shall be ashes under the
 "soles of your feet, in the day that I shall do this, saith the
 "Lord of hosts." ^b "And I will feed them that oppress thee
 "with their own flesh, and they shall be drunken with their
 "own blood, as with sweet wine. And all flesh shall know
 "that I, the Lord, am thy Saviour, and thy Redeemer, the
 "Mighty one of Jacob." ^c "Rejoice O ye nations! with
 "his people; for he will avenge the blood of his servants,
 "and will render vengeance to his adversaries, and will be
 "merciful unto his land, and to his people." ^d "Keeping mer-
 "cy for thousands; forgiving iniquity, and transgression,
 "and sin, and that will by no means clear the guilty." ^e
 "But if ye be without chastisement, whereof all are par-
 "takers, then are ye bastards and not sons." ^f "The king-
 "dom of heaven is like unto a net that was cast into the sea,
 "and gathered of every kind: which, when it was full, they
 "drew to shore, and sat down, and gathered the good into
 "vessels, but cast the bad away. So shall it be at the end of
 "the world: the angels shall come forth, and sever the
 "wicked from among the just; and shall cast them into the
 "furnace of fire: there shall be wailing and gnashing of
 "teeth." ^g "The wicked is driven away in his wickedness;
 "but the righteous hath hope in his death." ^h "The Son of
 "man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out
 "of his kingdom all things that offend, and them which do
 "iniquity; and shall cast them into a furnace of fire; there
 "shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth. Then shall the
 "righteous shine forth as the Sun, in the kingdom of their
 "Father." ⁱ "The hope of the righteous shall be gladness;
 "but the expectation of the wicked shall perish." ^j "And

^a 2 Sam. xxii. 28.

^b Mal. iv. 1—3.

^c Isa. lxix. 26.

^d Deut. xxxii. 43.

^e Ex. xxxiv. 7.

^f Hebr. xii. 8.

^g Matt. xiii. 47—50.

^h Prov. xiv. 32.

ⁱ Matt. xiii. 41—43.

^j Prov. x. 28.

"while they went to buy, the bridegroom came; and they
 "that were ready went in with him to the marriage: and
 "the door was shut. Afterward came also the other vir-
 "gins, saying, Lord, Lord, open to us. But he answered
 "and said, verily I say unto you, I know you not."^a "I
 "create the fruit of the lips; peace, peace, to him that is far
 "off, and to him that is near, saith the Lord; and I will heal
 "him. But the wicked are like the troubled sea, when it
 "cannot rest, whose waters cast up mire and dirt. There
 "is no peace, saith my God, to the wicked."^b "For the
 "preaching of the cross is to them that perish foolishness;
 "but unto us who are saved, it is the power of God."^c "But
 "we are not of them who draw back unto perdition; but of
 "them that believe to the saving of the soul."^d "He that
 "believeth on the Son, hath everlasting life; and he that be-
 "lieveth not the Son, shall not see life; but the wrath of
 "God abideth on him."^e "And the nations were angry,
 "and thy wrath is come, and the time of the dead, that they
 "should be judged, and that thou shouldest give reward un-
 "to thy servants the prophets, and to the saints, and them
 "that fear thy name, small and great: and shouldest des-
 "troy them which destroy the earth."^f "And there shall in no
 "wise enter into it, any thing that defileth, neither whatsoever
 "worketh abomination, or maketh a lie, but they which are
 "written in the Lamb's book of life."^g "Whose fan is in his
 "hand, and he will thoroughly purge his floor, and gather his
 "wheat into the garner; but he will burn up the chaff with
 "unquenchable fire."^h "The men of Nineveh shall rise in
 "judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it: be-
 "cause they repented at the preaching of Jonas; and be-
 "hold, a greater than Jonas is here! The queen of the
 "south shall rise up in the judgment with this generation,
 "and shall condemn it: for she came from the uttermost
 "parts of the earth, to hear the wisdom of Solomon; and
 "behold a greater than Solomon is here. When the un-
 "clean spirit is gone out of a man, he walketh through dry
 "places, seeking rest, and findeth none. Then he saith, I
 "will return into my house from whence I came out; and
 "when he is come, he findeth it empty, swept, and garnished.
 "Then goeth he, and taketh with himself seven other spirits
 "more wicked than himself, and they enter in and dwell

^a Matt. 25; 10—12.

^b Is. 57; 19—21.

^c 1 Cor. 1; 18.

^d Heb. 10; 39.

^e In. 3; 36.

^f Rev. 11; 18.

^g Rev. 21; 27.

^h Matt. 3; 12.

"there: and the last state of that man is worse than the first. Even so shall it be also unto this wicked generation."^a "Let death seize upon *them*, and let *them* go down quick into hell: for wickedness is in their dwellings, and among them. As for *me*, I will call upon God, and the Lord shall save *me*." "Cast thy burden upon the Lord, and he shall sustain thee: he shall never suffer the righteous to be moved. But thou, O God! shalt bring them down unto the pit of destruction: bloody and deceitful men shall not live out half their days; but I will trust in thee."^b "Who will render to every man according to his deeds; to them who, by patient continuance in well doing, seek for glory, and honor, and immortality; eternal life: but unto them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness, indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that doeth evil, of the Jew first, and also of the Gentile. But glory, honor, and peace, to every man that worketh good; to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile; for there is no respect of persons with God."^c "He that believeth, and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned."^d "Marvel not at this; for the hour is coming, in the which all that are in their graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation."^e "He that is unjust, let him be unjust still: and he which is filthy, let him be filthy still: and he that is righteous let him be righteous still: and he that is holy, let him be holy still."^f "And these shall go away into everlasting punishment; but the righteous into life eternal."^g "And besides all this, between us and you there is a great gulph fixed: so that they which would pass from hence to you cannot; neither can they pass to us, that would come from thence."^h

One would suppose that Mr. Balfour himself could scarcely demand a greater multiplicity of authorities than I have cited. That they are to the point, will appear by remarking the contrast which they note, 1. In the characters of men. They are spoken of as faithful and unprofitable; humble and

^a Matt. 13; 41—45.

^b Ps. 55; 15, 16, 22, 23.

^c Rom. 2; 6—11.

^d Mk. 16; 16.

^e Is. 5; 29, 29.

^f Rev. 22; 11.

^g Matt. 25; 46.

^h Luke. 16; 26.

proud ; wise and foolish ; good and bad ; holy and unjust ; righteous and wicked ; believers and unbelievers. 2. There is a contrast in their standing in the sight of their Maker and Judge ; as they are written or not written in the book of life ; bastards or sons ; adversaries or people ; built on the sand or the rock ; condemned or justified ; cursed or blessed. 3. There is a contrast in their future destiny ; as they perish or as they are saved ; rewarded or destroyed ; gathered as heirs of salvation, or cast down, cast away, and driven away, as heirs of perdition ; stored in heaven or burned in hell ; continuing holy still and unjust still ; sentenced to eternal life and eternal punishment ; to torment and comfort ; between which there is an impassable gulph.

Now if my opponent can prove that good is evil and evil good ; that bitter is sweet and sweet bitter ; that darkness is light and light darkness ; and if he can prove in opposition to the above passages, that the righteous shall fall for ever, then may he prove that the finally impenitent shall be saved.

FOURTH ORTHODOX ARGUMENT.

NEGATION.

It is proposed to prove the absolute eternity of the sinner's punishment by negative expressions of scripture, in which the termination of that punishment is plainly denied. Eternity is correctly defined by *endless* duration. It is by such a mode of expression that the bible conveys to us the doctrine of the eternity of God, the eternity of Christ's kingdom, and the eternity of the saint's happiness. If these things can be shewn, then the use of such language in relation to the sinner's punishment will certainly prove its absolute eternity. These particulars shall now be made out in the order in which they are here mentioned.

1. The eternity of God is communicated, by denying that his existence has an end. "Of old hast thou laid the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the work of thy hands. They shall perish, but thou shalt endure ; yea, all of them shall wax old like a garment ; as a vesture shalt thou change them, and they shall be changed : but thou art the same, and thy years shall have no end."^a

2. The eternity of Christ's kingdom is proved in the same way. "His dominion is an everlasting dominion

^a Ps. cii. 25—27.

"which shall *not* pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed." "Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be *no end*, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to order it, and to establish it with judgment and with justice, from henceforth even for ever." In Mr. Ballou's Treatise on Atonement,^a he admits the force of these passages, when he says that in Isaiah ix 6, 7, the Saviour is Prophecied of, as possessing "a kingdom, the increase of which shall have *no end*. To the same purpose see also Dan. vii. 14."

3. The eternity of the saint's happiness is declared by negative expressions. "And when the chief Shepherd shall appear, ye shall receive a crown of glory, that *fadeth not away*." Again, this is called "an *incorruptible*" crown, and "a kingdom which *cannot* be moved."^b "He that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white raiment; and I will *not* blot out his name out of the book of life, but I will confess his name before my Father, and before his angels." "For I will *not* contend forever, *neither* will I be always wroth." "And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be *no more* death, *neither*, sorrow, *nor*, crying, *neither* shall there be any more pain."^c Mr. Ballou, in the place above referred to, admits the force of this last text in the following words, viz. "How can it be said that God shall wipe away all tears from the eyes of men, if millions are to mourn to an endless eternity? Or, why is it said, there shall be *no more* sorrow, crying *nor* pain, if sorrow, crying, and infinite pain are never to cease?" Also, the force of the text preceding the last, is admitted and urged by Mr. Winchester, in his 2d and 4th Dialogues.

Now if it be admitted by all parties; and if it be true, whether admitted or not; that this sort of language is valid proof of the eternity of God, of the eternity of Christ's kingdom, and of the eternity of the Saints' happiness, what but prejudice and unbelief, can prevent us from receiving it, in proof of the eternity of the sinner's punishment? But the relevancy of such evidence, if it can be found, even in support of this obnoxious doctrine, has already been implicitly acknowledged by Mr. Winchester himself, while trying to build a bridge across the impassable gulph. His words are the

^a p. 300.

^b 1 Pet. v. 4. 1 Cor. ix. 25. Hebr xii. 28.

^c Isa. lvi. 16. Rev. iii. 5. xxi. 4.

following, viz. "We cannot positively conclude against the restoration, from this passage of the rich man, unless we could find some passages of Scripture, where God has promised never to restore, or reconcile such to himself, whom he hath once cast off."^a This is as much as to say that if we could find some passages of scripture, where God has promised [or threatened] *never* to restore, or reconcile such to himself, whom he hath once cast off," then the rich man and all who die in their sins, shall be in torment to an absolute eternity.

"And the Lord said; my Spirit shall *not always* strive with man, for that he also is flesh: yet his days shall be an hundred and twenty years."^b The meaning of this passage evidently is, that the day of grace, or an opportunity of salvation, shall *not last always*, but its utmost extent shall be only during a man's life; which was usually seven or eight hundred years before the flood, one hundred and twenty after it, and is now three score and ten.

"*Not* every one that saith unto me Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven." "For I say unto you that *none* of those which were bidden, shall taste of my supper."^c "Plead with your mother, plead: for she is *not* my wife: *neither* am I her husband:" "and I will *not* have mercy upon her children." "I will *no more* have mercy upon the house of Israel:" "for ye are *not* my people, and I will *not* be your God." "He that made them, will *not* have mercy on them, and he that formed them will shew them *no* favour."^d "For he shall have judgment *without* mercy, that hath shewn no mercy." "The same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out *without mixture*, into the cup of his indignation; and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone, in the presence of the holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb. And the smoke of their torment ascendeth up forever and ever: and they have *no* rest day nor night, who worship the beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth the mark of his name." "But if ye forgive not men their trespasses, *neither* will your Father forgive your trespasses." "Follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which, *no* man shall see the Lord." "The Lord is slow to anger, and great in power, and will *not at all* acquit the wicked." "He shall lean up-

^a Dialogue 2nd.
^b Gen. vi. 3.

^c Matt. vii. 21. Luke xiv. 24.
^d Hosea ii. 2. 4. 1; vi. 9. Isa. 27; 1

"on his house, but it shall *not* stand: he shall hold it fast,
 "but it shall *not* endure."^a "Behold! I Paul say unto you,
 "that if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you *nothing*."
 "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might;
 "for there is *no* work, *nor* device, *nor* knowledge, *nor* wisdom,
 "in the grave whither thou goest." "I must work the works
 "of him that sent me, while it is day: the night cometh,
 "when no man can work." "He that, being often reproved,
 "hardeneth his neck, shall be suddenly destroyed, and that
 "*without remedy*." "Therefore the ungodly shall *not* stand
 "in the judgment, *nor* sinners in the congregation of the
 "righteous." "There is *no* peace saith the Lord, unto the
 "wicked." "He that believeth not the Son, shall *not* see
 "life." "No murderer hath eternal life."^b "But the eyes
 "of the wicked shall *fail*, and they shall *not* escape, and their
 "hope shall be as *the giving up of the ghost*." "For thus
 "saith the Lord, thy bruise is *incurable*, and thy wound is
 "grievous." "Why criest thou for thine affliction? Thy
 "sorrow is *incurable* for the multitude of thine iniquity: be-
 "cause thy sins were increased I have done these things un-
 "to thee." "For her wound is *incurable*." "Because there
 "is wrath, beware lest he take thee away with his stroke,
 "then a great ransom *cannot* deliver thee." "None of them
 "can by any means redeem his brother, *nor* give to God a
 "ransom for him; (for the redemption of *their soul* is pre-
 "cious, and it *ceaseth forever*;) that he should still live for-
 "ever, and not see corruption."^c "Seek ye the Lord, and ye
 "shall live; lest he break out like fire in the house of Jo-
 "seph, and devour it, and there be *none* to quench it in
 "Bethel." "But if ye will not hearken unto me, to hallow
 "the Sabbath Day, and not bear a burden, even entering in
 "at the gates of Jerusalem on the Sabbath Day: then will
 "I kindle a fire in the gates thereof, and it shall devour the
 "palaces of Jerusalem, and it shall *not* be quenched." "Cir-
 "cumcise yourselves to the Lord, and take away the fore-
 "skins of your heart, ye men of Judah, and inhabitants of
 "Jerusalem: lest my fury come forth like fire, and burn
 "that *none* can quench it, because of the evil of your doings."
 "O house of David! thus saith the Lord; execute judgment
 "in the morning, and deliver him that is spoiled out of the

^a Jas. 2; 13. Rev. 14; 10, 11. Matt. 6; 15. Hebr. 12; 14. Nah. 1; 3. Job 3; 15.

^b Gal. 5; 2. Eccles. 9; 10. In. 9; 4. Prov. 29; 1. Ps. 1; 5. Isa. 48; 22. In. 3; 36. 1 In. 3; 15.

^c Job 11; 20. Jer. 30; 12, 15. Mic. 1; 9. Job 36; 18. Ps. 49; 6—9.

"hand of the oppressor, lest my fury go out like fire, and
 "burn that *none* can quench it, because of the evil of your
 "doings." "Because they have forsaken me, and have burnt
 "incense unto other gods, that they might provoke me to an-
 "ger with all the works of their hands; therefore my wrath
 "shall be kindled against this place, and shall *not* be quenched."
 "Son of man, set thy face toward the south, and drop
 "thy word toward the south, and prophecy against the forest
 "of the south field. And say to the forest of the south, hear
 "the word of the Lord: thus saith the Lord God; behold!
 "I will kindle a fire in thee, and it shall devour every green
 "tree in thee, and every dry tree: the flaming flame shall
 "*not* be quenched, and all faces from the south to the north
 "shall be burned therein. And all flesh shall see that I the
 "Lord have kindled it: it shall *not* be quenched. Then said
 "I, ah, Lord God! they say of me, doth he not speak para-
 "bles?"^a "If thy hand offend thee, cut it off: it is better for
 "thee to enter into life maimed, than having two hands to go
 "into hell, into the fire that *never shall be quenched*; where
 "their worm dieth *not*, and the fire is *not* quenched. And if
 "thy foot offend thee, cut it off; it is better for thee to
 "enter halt into life, than having two feet to be cast into hell,
 "into the fire that *never shall be quenched*; where their worm
 "dieth *not*, and the fire is *not* quenched. And if thine eye
 "offend thee, pluck it out: it is better for thee to enter
 "into the kingdom of God with one eye, than having two
 "eyes, to be cast into hell-fire, where their worm dieth *not*
 "and the fire is *not* quenched." "He will burn up the chaff
 "with *unquenchable fire*." "There are the workers of ini-
 "quity fallen: they are cast down and shall *not* be able to
 "rise." And in hell he lifted up his eyes being in torments,
 "and seeth Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom.
 "And he cried and said, Father Abraham, have mercy
 "on me; and send Lazarus, that he may dip the
 "tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue; for I am
 "tormented in this flame. But Abraham said, son, remem-
 "ber that thou in thy life time, receivedst thy good things,
 "and likewise Lazarus evil things: but now he is comforted
 "and thou art tormented. And besides all this, between us
 "and you there is a great gulph fixed; so that they which
 "would pass from hence to you *cannot*; *neither can they*
 "pass to us, that would come from thence."^b

^a Amos 5: 6. Jer. 17: 27. 2; 4. 21; 19. 2 Egi. 22; 17. Ezr. 20: 43—45.
^b Mk 9, 43—45. Matt. 3, 12. Ps. 36, 12, Luke 16, 23—26.

"There is a sin unto death : I do not say that he shall pray for it." "For *it is impossible* for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted of the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance ; seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame." "For if we sin wilfully after that we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth *no more* sacrifice for sins, but a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation which shall devour the adversaries." "And whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him : but unto him that blasphemeth against the Holy Ghost, it shall *not* be forgiven." "But he that shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost, hath *never* forgiveness, but is in danger of eternal damnation." "It shall *not* be forgiven him, *neither* in this world, *neither* in the world to come."^a

It will not do to deny or despise the above passages, after giving them the name of parables : for this foil was tried in vain by the adversary, in the time of Ezekiel.^b It will not do to get clear of the worm that dieth not, by turning it into a butterfly, as it is said Mr. Mitchel of New-York does. Such objections prove nothing more than the deep depravity or profane levity of those who raise them. Neither will it avail, to show that God has threatened to pour out his unquenchable fury "upon man and upon *beast* :"^c for if by perversion, we apply to the irrational creation, that which is inapplicable to them, then, to be consistent, we must admit that beasts can sin, repent, and pray ; and that they can obtain pardon and salvation ; and of course be liable to an absolutely eternal punishment. This will appear from Jonah iii. 8—10. "But let man and beast be covered with sackcloth, and cry mightily unto God : yea let them turn every one from his evil way, and from the violence that is in their hands." But such interpretations I consider much of a piece with that which scoffing infidels give to Isa. xxxvii. 36. "And when they arose early in the morning, behold they were all dead corpses."

^a 1 Ja. v. 16. Hebr. vi. 4—6. x. 26, 27. Luke xii. 10. Mk. iii. 29. Matt. xii. 32.

^b xx. 48.

^c Jer. vii 29.

Many of the above threats were directed against the Jewish nation. It was on that unbelieving and disobedient people, that God said he would have no mercy; they were the sinners who were to suffer in unquenchable fire. This fact Mr. Winchester thinks very important to his cause; because there are abundant prophecies, (some of which are uttered in close connexion with the above threatenings,^a) that this people shall hereafter be revived. On this account he thinks himself no loser by admitting that these menaces were executed. His words are the following, viz. "Now these threatenings were surely executed; for the people did not hear-ken to God: he did certainly kindle a fire, and it burnt and was not quenched, but consumed Jerusalem and all her palaces; and the beautiful forests that were so much esteemed shared the same fate: but what person will argue that the whole city and country must be now in flames; and must have been consuming, from the days of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, because of these expressions, 'the flaming flame shall not be quenched,' &c. since we know that Jerusalem, and the country round about, have been since inhabited, and will be again, in a more glorious manner than ever?"^b

This argument of Mr. Winchester seems to take it for granted that the above threatenings were chiefly, if not solely directed against irrational and inanimate objects; and that when these were destroyed, the prophecy was fully accomplished, and there was no further call for divine judgments. But did he really believe that these menaces were aimed at none but forests, fields, and palaces? Are not those men who traverse these forests, cultivate these fields, and inhabit these palaces, often expressly mentioned, and always intended, as the real objects of these threatenings? Did Jehovah ever marry or divorce these inanimate creatures? Did he ever condemn them as sinners? or was the fire which consumed them unquenchable? Mr. Winchester himself did not believe that the destruction of buildings, trees, and fruits, was a complete fulfilment of God's threatenings against iniquity. Speaking of futurity beyond the grave, he says that "all the threatenings will be fulfilled upon the finally impenitent." "As they have lived and died in sin, their destruction or misery is certain."^c This doctrine he draws from passages in which the language is fully as figurative as that

^a Hos. i. 9. 10.

^c Andrews, p. 74.

^b Dialogue 2d.

which speaks of cities and their surrounding country. The following are his own words, viz. "He saith that it is more tolerable for *the land, that is, the inhabitants* of Sodom, in the day of judgment, than for the cities where his gospel was preached, and his miracles wrought, and yet the inhabitants remained impenitent: See St. Matt. xi. 24. x. 15. St. Mk. vi. 11. St. Luke. x. 12. From all which passages it is evident that the inhabitants of Sodom will be condemned in the day of judgment, and punished in the lake of fire."^a To be consistent, therefore, he should have told us that it was not only the conflagration of Jerusalem, but this lake of fire beyond the grave, to which the objects of the above threatenings were consigned.

Now did Mr. Winchester, or do any of his followers, believe that those murderous unbelieving Jews, who were cut off in their sins near two thousand years ago, and who, according to his own confession, will be sent to the lake of fire, in the day of judgment;—do they believe, that long after that period, these same unbelieving Jews are to be taken from this lake of fire to heaven, as a fulfilment of those scriptures which predict the restoration of their distant posterity to the favour of God, and the possession of Jerusalem? If *they* do not believe an absurdity, so transcendently absurd, they ought not to expect *us* to do it. These promises relate to the restoration of those Jews who shall hereafter live and die in the faith of Christ: those threatenings condemn to unquenchable fire, their remote ancestors who lived and died in unbelief and rebellion. Could the destruction of their city extinguish the unquenchable fury of their Almighty Judge? or could the faith of their posterity avert his just indignation? They must perish through their own sins, and their posterity shall be graciously justified through that faith which is the gift of God. Thus it is easy to reconcile God's threats of eternal punishment against the city of Jerusalem and the land of Judea, with his promises of eternal happiness to the same city and land. The promise was connected with the faith of Christ, and the threat was against unbelievers.

My opponent well knows that much stress is laid upon those passages which condemn the sin against the Holy Ghost. He finds one among them, which says that the perpetrator of this crime is "*in danger of eternal damnation.*" This he thinks is far from deciding that he will certainly incur this

^a Dialogue 5th.

punishment. All is not lost that is in danger. But is he sure that this remark will apply here? He sometimes affects a great familiarity with the original languages. A little examination will show him that the person here spoken of is represented as not only *in danger of* eternal damnation, not only *obnoxious, liable, subject to* eternal punishment, but *deserving of* it, and *bound over to* it. That this is the force of the word in this place is evident from the words immediately preceding; where it is declared that he "bath *never* forgiveness;" and from the parallel passages which forbid us to pray for such sinners; which declare it *impossible* to renew them again into repentance; that there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins, but a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation; that "it shall *not* be forgiven;" and again, that "it shall *not* be forgiven him, *neither* in this "world, *neither* in the world to come."

Strong as this language is, it is hardly stronger than that of the other passages adduced. Although they are not described as having committed the unpardonable sin, yet as they had *forsaken God*, and *burned incense unto other gods*; as they did not *hallow the Sabbath*; as they were *workers of iniquity*; and as their *sins were increased*, and persevered in, therefore their bruise, their sorrow, their wound should be *incurable*; their hope should be as the giving up of the ghost. God would *not* always strive with them; he would *not* forgive, he would *not* acquit them; he would show them *no* mercy, *no* favour; they should *not* see the Lord; they should have *no* peace, *no* rest; and yet should be able to perform *no* work, *no* device, *no* knowledge *no* wisdom, connected with salvation: they could *not* endure, and yet could *not* escape. Jehovah declared that he was *not* their God, *not* their husband; that they were *not* his wife, *not* his people; that they should *not* be delivered, *not* redeemed, *not* ransomed; that they should *not* stand in judgment, *not* in the congregation of the righteous, but with worms that should *not* die, and in fire that should *not* be quenched; on the infernal side of a gulph which could *not* be passed; where they could *not* see life; could *not* have eternal life; where they could *not* taste of the Master's supper; but should drink of the cup of God's wrath *without* mixture, have judgment *without* mercy, and destruction *without* remedy.

No wonder that those who, in defiance of all these scriptural negations, deny the absolute eternity of the sinner's punishment, deny also the plenary inspiration of the bible.

FIFTH ORTHODOX ARGUMENT.

AFFIRMATION.

It is proposed to prove the absolute eternity of the sinners punishment, by passages of scripture in which this doctrine is affirmed. This affirmation may be in two forms of expression ; the one declaring the *state* of the damned, the other declaring the *duration* of their punishment. To say that an Hebrew bondman had his ear bored, is the same as saying that he was to be a servant for life ;—to affirm that a young *religieuse* has taken the veil, is precisely equivalent to an affirmation that she is to be immured for life ;—so, those scriptures which assert that the wicked are cast into *hell*, and those which assert that they are bound over to *eternal* damnation, are equivalent to each other. Although one class of texts points out more expressly the *state* of the damned, and the other class more expressly the *duration* of their punishment, it shall, with the help of God, be shewn that they both *affirm* the solemn truth that the sufferings of these unbelievers are absolutely eternal. These things may now be considered in their order.

I.

THE STATE OF THE DAMNED.

That there is a hell, and that the finally impenitent have their portion there, is a matter of plain revelation. "Who-soever shall say, thou fool, shall be in danger of *hell*-fire." "But he knoweth not that the dead are there ; and that her guests are in the depths of *hell*." "Her house is the way to *hell*, going down to the chambers of death." "Her feet go down to death, her steps take hold on *hell*." "But I will forewarn you whom ye shall fear : fear him, which, after he hath killed, hath power to cast into *hell*. Yea I say unto you, fear him." "And fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul : but rather fear him, which is able to destroy both soul and body in *hell*." "God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to *hell*, and delivered them into chains of darkness, to be reserved unto judgment." "The wicked shall be turned into *hell*, and all the nations that forget God." "Let death seize upon them, and let them go down quick into *hell*." "Therefore *hell* hath enlarged herself, and opened her mouth without measure : and their glory, and their multitude, and their pomp, and he that rejoiceth, shall descend into it." "It is better for thee to enter into life maimed, than having two hands,

"to go into *hell*, into the fire that never shall be quenched." "And in *hell*, he lifted up his eyes, being in torments;" between which and the happiness of heaven, there was an impassable gulph. Well might our Saviour then ask, "how can ye escape the damnation of *hell*?"^a

An Universalist polemic has a ready answer to all these authorities. He tells you that our translators have here used the word *hell* to render four distinct words in the original, neither of which denotes a state of eternal punishment. These four words *Sheol*, *Hades*, *Gehenna*, and *Tartarus*, are so innocent in their view, that they form the scenes of their most protracted and delightful literary excursions. On them alone, Mr. Balfour has written a volume of four hundred and forty-one pages octavo. The size of the book does not astonish those who have waded through its pendant lore and tiresome tautology. By these means, and by the greater use of irrelevant extracts from other authors, (a practice with which he is acquainted) he might enlarge it indefinitely; and the admiration of certain readers might keep pace with its growth.

It is confessed that his voluminous extracts from Dr. Geo: Campbell of Aberdeen, are relevant, though not always correct. The career of this great man is not an enviable one. The pride of originality, and the lust of praise led him frequently astray. For fear of being esteemed a servile follower of the orthodoxy of his fathers, he became the dupe of the erroneous. Under the promise of liberty, they reduced him to slavery: and their subsequent treatment has been like that of Pharaoh to the Israelites, or the devil to Eve. Because he would not renounce every particle of the truth, and shew them the hundredth favour, they would not thank him for the ninety-nine. The following is Mr. Balfour's character of this accommodating scholar, viz. "It should be kept in remembrance, that Dr. Campbell was a very celebrated minister of the church of Scotland, and Principal of Marischal College, Aberdeen. The most learned, yea, the very best of men, are liable to be influenced by the places of honour and emolument they occupy. There is no doubt in my mind, that had Dr. Campbell written in a situation free of all restraint, he would have given us a very different account of Gehenna and its punishment. The doctrine

^a Matt. v. 22. Prov. ix. 18. vii. 27. v. 5, Luke xii. 6. Matt. x. 28. 2 Pet. ii. 4. Ps. ix. 17. Iv. 15. Mk. ix. 43. Luke xvi. 23. Matt. xxiii. 33.

"of eternal misery, was a principal article in the creed he was obliged to subscribe to, and by which he held his place and all its emoluments: It is rather a matter of surprise that he ventured to write so much at variance with this doctrine, considering the time he lived, and circumstances in which he was placed."^a

This is the reward which Dr. Campbell has generally received for those servile compliances, which he vainly imagined, constituted the essence of independence. He is here represented as an Universalist in heart, while a Presbyterian by a solemn profession. His place of honour and emolument is here given as his reason for being a Presbyterian; and it was only the love of filthy lucre that kept him from professing an opposite system of religion. But what must we think of the morality of Universalism, when we are told by its champion, that "the very best of men are liable to be influenced by" such motives? And let it be remembered that this is no hasty or novel concession; for these Universalist Unitarians claim Locke, Newton, and a host of worthies, while allowing that they were guilty of the same inconsistency. But must not that be the synagogue of Satan, in whose eyes the avaricious and deceitful, liars and perjured persons, are "the very best of men?"

Dr. Campbell's example and reward should be an instructive lesson to those who are beset with his temptations. They would persuade you to deny or conceal the doctrines of original sin and natural inability, and the doctrines of particular election and redemption. They will then represent you as in the high road to fame. The mead of flattery is pleasant: they perceive that it is relished by you: they see you advancing in error: their mouths are open for a burst of applause, upon your next step towards destruction. You make another effort to please; and completely succeed, by asserting that God has uttered threats, which never were executed, and never will be executed, either on the actual offender, or on his surety. If they were pleased with your advocating an universal atonement, which according to the scriptures, would secure an universal salvation; they are more pleased with your adding to this, a virtual denial of God's faithfulness and justice, which would for ever secure them from the fear of damnation. Although this doctrine was preached in Eden, before the fall of man, by a superhuman intelligence, your seducers will give you the praise of originality, and extra-

^a Chap. ii. Sec. 1.

ordinary intellectual vigour. You are now a man of an independent spirit: you have escaped from the shackles of parental example; of human authority, of sectarianism, superstition and bigotry. By this time you have a juster sense of your own importance. You clearly perceive the vast superiority of your attainments, over those of the Westminster Assembly, the Synod of Dort, the Reformers, and Augustine; although in reality, not fit to be placed with the dogs of their flocks. If the Rubicon is not *already* past, only one step remains to do it: Deny all imputation; not only the imputation of Christ's righteousness to his people; not only the transfer of Adam's guilt to his posterity; but the imputation of our sins to Christ. Quote to them the beginning of Ezekiel xviii, and shew that the law does not admit of a substitute. Then give up all hopes from the orthodox, and "make an agreement with me by a present, and come out to me: and eat ye every one of his vine; and every one of his fig-tree, and drink ye every one the waters of his own cistern; until I come and take you away to a land like your own land, a land of corn and wine, a land of bread and vineyards."^a But if you refuse to take the two last steps above mentioned, and all the others which are consequent upon them;—if you prefer remaining in that church to whose creed you have sworn,—remember, that although we may praise you, while living, for that portion of error which you have received, we shall, after your death, place you with "the very best of men," such as Dr. Campbell, and Judas and Esau; all of whom sold their birthrights for a mess of pottage. When such a man dies, his own flatterers precede the Orthodox in blasting his fame. "The memory of the just is blessed: but the name of the wicked shall rot."^b

But it is time to examine the amount of Dr. Campbell's authority, and the use, or rather the abuse which has been made of it by the Universalists. My opponent asserts that Dr. Campbell has "given up all but the term *Gehenna*, as a "place of future punishment for the wicked." He gives it as Dr. Campbell's avowed belief that *hades* and *sheol* "have no reference whatever to a state of punishment after death."^c Mr. Balfour, in speaking of Dr. Campbell's observations upon the "place of torment for the wicked," says; "He denies that it is called by the names *Sheol*, *Hades*, or

^a Is. xxxvi, 16, 17.
^b Prov. x. 7.

^c Minutes, p. 176.

"*Tartarus* : yea, he denies that the Hebrew, Greek, or English languages, afford a name for this place of torment."^a This goes even farther than my opponent; and denies that Dr. Campbell believed any of these four names, even *Gehenna* itself, to denote the place of torment. This may seem astonishing to those who are informed, that only three pages before this extravagant assertion, he had quoted and censured the Doctor's declaration to the contrary, concerning *Gehenna*; and in a distant part of the same work,^b he says "that he denies that *Hades* is the place of eternal punishment; and that he contends for *Gehenna* being this place." Could it be expected that only four pages before this, he had quoted Dr. Campbell's own words, in which he declared the contrary? The passage is as follows, viz: "But is there not one passage, it may be said, in which the word *Hades* must be understood as synonymous with *Gehenna*, and consequently must denote the place of final punishment prepared for the wicked, or *Hell* in the Christian acceptation of the term? Ye have it in the story of the rich man and Lazarus, Luke xvi. 23, '*In Hell, εν τω αδην, he lifted up his eyes, being in torments, and seeth Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom.*' This is the only passage in Holy Writ which seems to give countenance to the opinion that *hades* sometimes means the same thing as *gehenna*. Here it is represented as a place of punishment. The rich man is said to be tormented there in the midst of flames."

Thus does the favourite author of the Universalists bear testimony against them. He declares that in this important passage, the word *Hades* denotes "the place of final punishment prepared for the wicked, or *Hell*, in the Christian acceptation of the term:" and let it be marked, that he believed this *Hell*, this *Hades*, this *Gehenna*, to be a place of absolutely eternal punishment; which belief is proved to be correct by the passage quoted above. This point being established, there is a strong probability, if not a certainty, that *Sheol* also, signifies the place of everlasting punishment, since the Septuagint generally renders *sheol* by *hades*; and it is acknowledged by both parties, that they are synonymous. In speaking of *Sheol*, Campbell says that "in translating that word, the Seventy have almost invariably used "*Hades*." The same fact has been stated by my opponent in the very same words. Mr. Balfour says that "*Sheol* and

^a Chap. ii. Sec. 1.

^b Chap. i. Sec. 3.

^c Minutes, p. 185.

"*Hades* are only the Greek and Hebrew names for the same place."^a

The fact that these two words, occurring in the Old and New Testaments, are synonymous, after the meaning of one of them is thus fairly settled, proves that the doctrine of a future state is common to both dispensations. This, though denied by my opponent, is admitted by Mr. Balfour. The following are his words, viz: "That both future existence and the resurrection of the dead, were in some degree known under the old dispensation, we think can be proved." For proof of this, he refers to several scriptures.^b He also gives an extract from *Jahn's Biblical Archaeology*, in which, scripture, is produced to prove "reception into the presence of God at death."^d The adoption of the question under discussion, would indicate that my opponent believes in a separate existence of the soul from the body, as Mr. Balfour does. But in your presence, and elsewhere, he has proved himself a Materialist. He not only denies that the Old Testament reveals a future state, but that either the old or New Testament contains the doctrine of an intermediate state. It is not my design, however, to notice these questions, at present, except as they are merged in the argument which is now in hand; in the prosecution of which it becomes necessary to examine, as concisely as possible, the meaning of the inspired words, *Sheol*, *Hades*, *Gehenna*, and *Tartarus*, in the order in which they are here placed.

1.

SHEOL.

Mr. Balfour has already told us that this word occurs sixty-four times in the Hebrew Bible. Those who will take the trouble to examine them with the aid of a concordance, will probably find the following account to be correct.

(1.) In two passages it appears to signify the grave. "Like sheep they are laid in *Sheol*." Our bones are scattered at the mouth of *Sheol*.^d

(2.) There are three passages, in which it appears to embrace the interment of the body, and the final condition of the soul. Korah, Dathan, and Abiram are said to "go down alive into *Sheol*." "They and all that appertained to them, went down alive into *Sheol*." Solomon makes the robber

^a Chap. i. Sec. 2.

^d Balfour, Chap. ii. Sec. 6. Chap. i. Sec. 1.

^b Mark xii. 26, 27. Heb. xiii. Chap. d Ps. 49 : 14 : 141 : 7.

^c Hag. 2, 23, Eccl. 12, 7.

say, "Let us swallow them up alive as *Sheol*, and whole as "those that go down into the pit."^a

(3.) There are five places, in which it seems to exclude the interment of the body. This does not appear from three of them, in which Jacob's gray hairs are represented as brought down with sorrow to *sheol*; except by a comparison with a fourth, in which he expected to find in *sheol*, his son Joseph, whom he believed to have been devoured by wild beasts, and of course, not be in the grave. The fifth is the one in which Jonah is said to cry to God "out of the belly of *sheol*,"^b and of course not out of the grave.

(4.) There are 13 other places in which, without stopping to discuss the subject I humbly conceive it signifies the intermediate state of all the dead, saints and sinners. I shall simply refer to the texts.^c This *sheol*, or state of separation, must come to an end; because at the resurrection, the souls and bodies of men must be reunited.

(5.) There are two instances, in which it evidently means the separate state of the happy dead. "O that thou wouldst hide me in *sheol*! that thou wouldst keep me secret, until thy wrath be past, that thou wouldst appoint me a set time and remember me." "For thou wilt not leave my soul in *sheol*, neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption." As the soul of the Redeemer, after the crucifixion, went to Paradise, this is the *sheol* here mentioned; and there it was that Job wished to be hid.^d

(6.) Although in the passages referred to, under number four, this word appears to embrace heaven and hell, until the resurrection; there are six places in which it denotes the latter in contrast with the former. Concerning God's omniscience, Job says, "It is as high as heaven, what canst thou do? deeper than *sheol*, what canst thou know?" The Psalmist says, "If I ascend up into heaven, thou art there, if I make my bed in *sheol*, behold thou art there." "Solomon says, "the way of life is above to the wise, that he may depart from *sheol* beneath." "Moreover the Lord spake unto Ahaz, saying, ask thee a sign of the Lord thy God; ask it either in *sheol*, or in the height above." "Though they dig into *sheol*, thence shall mine hand take them; though

^a Numb. xvi. 30, 38. Prov. i. 12.

^b Gen. 42; 38, 44; 31, 29. Jonah 2; 2.

^c 1 Sam. 2; 6. Job, 7; 9, 17; 13, 16, 26; 6. Ps. 6; 5, 88; 3, 89; 48. Eccl. 9; 10.

^d Job, 14; 13. Ps. 16; 10.

they climb up to heaven, thence will I bring them down.”^a

(7.) There are eleven places in addition to the nine mentioned in numbers two and six above, in which it is *probably* used to denote the place of future punishment. “Let not his hoar head go down to *sheol* in peace.” “Nor his hoar head bring thou down to *sheol* with blood.” “O Lord! thou hast brought up my soul from *sheol*: thou hast kept me alive that I should not go down to the pit.” Here is a *synonymous parallel*, in which the latter clause of the verse explains the meaning of the former. “His soul was virtually brought up from hell, by his being delivered from the power of the devil, and preserved from going to the pit. “Thy pomp is brought down to *sheol*.” “*Sheol* from beneath “is moved for thee, to meet thee at thy coming.” As our Saviour speaks of the rich man’s sufferings in another world, while his body was in the grave, so the body of this fallen hero is represented as covered with worms, while yet his soul, and the souls of “all the chief ones of the earth,” “all the kings of the nations,” are in the exercise of a sort of activity and intelligence, and suffering under degradation and punishment in another world. Again, the prophet threatens him, “Yet thou shalt be brought down to *sheol*, to the sides of the pit.” That this is not the grave, but a place of future punishment, will appear from Job xxxiii. 24, where deliverance from going down to this *pit*, is said to be the end of Christ’s *gracious* interposition, as a *Ransom* or *Atonement*; (as it is in the margin.) Now the atonement does preserve *from going down to Hell*, but not *from going down to the grave*. “We have made a covenant with death and with *sheol* are we at agreement.” “Your covenant “with death shall be disannulled, and your agreement with “*sheol* shall not stand.” “I said, in the cutting off of my “days, I shall go to the gates of *sheol*.” “For *sheol* cannot praise thee; death cannot celebrate thee: they that “go down into the pit cannot hope for thy truth.”^c

(8.) There are 25 places in which *sheol* is *certainly* used for *hell*, in the Christian sense of the word. Moses, in speaking of men, under the figures of *the earth* and *the mountains*, (language familiar to the scriptures),^d says, “For a fire is

^a Job, 11; 3. Ps. 139; 8. Prov. 15, 24. Is. 7. 11. Am. 9. 2.

^b This is the true force of the *γ* in this and some other passages.

^c 1 Kgs. ii. 6, 9. Ps. xxx. 3. Is. xiv. 9. 11. 15. 23. 15. 18. 33. 10.

^d See Deut. xxxii. 1. Ps. xvi. 1. 11. 1 Chr. xvi. 31. 33. Is. ii. 2. 41. 15. Ez. vi. 2.

"kindled in mine anger and shall burn unto the lowest *sheol*,
 "and shall consume the earth with her increase, and set on
 "fire the foundations of the mountains."^a David says, "thou
 "hast delivered my soul from the lowest *sheol*;"^b and the
 same writer says again, "The sorrows of *sheol* compassed
 "me about; the snares of death prevented me:"^c and again,
 "The sorrows of death compassed me, and the pains of
 "*sheol* gat hold upon me: I found trouble and sorrow."^d After
 quoting this text, my opponent speaks as follows, viz.
 "We there find the Psalmist declaring that 'the pains of hell'
 "had actually got hold of him. Now if the pains of hell
 "had actually got hold of him, will it do to say that he re-
 "turned thanks to God that he had preserved him from going
 "into hell, or that he had not been there?"^e In reply, I
 would observe that this reasoning of my opponent proves too
 much; and therefore will avail him nothing. The text in
 question has several clauses. In the first the Psalmist says,
 "The sorrows of death compassed me." In the second he
 says, "the pains of hell gat hold upon me." Now if the
 second clause prove that he was in hell, does not the first
 prove that he died before he went thither? In answer to
 this question, my opponent has expressly declared, that "the
 "sorrows of death are all experienced and felt, before death
 "actually takes place."^f This is true: but it is no less true,
 that the pains of hell gat hold upon him, before he was actu-
 ally sent to hell. These three texts are all tantamount to
 Ps. xxx. 3, noticed in No. 7, above, in which the latter
 line of the distich explains the former: "O Lord! thou
 "hast brought up my soul from *sheol*: thou hast kept me
 "alive, that I should not go down to the pit." The same
 interpretation is to be applied to Solomon's instruction for
 the correction of a child: "Thou shalt beat him with the
 "rod, and shalt deliver his soul from *sheol*."^g The Psalmist
 says, "Let death seize upon them, and let them go down
 "quick into *sheol*: for wickedness is in their dwellings and
 "and among them."^h Concerning the impure of both sexes,
 Solomon says, "But he knoweth not that the dead are there,

^a Deut. xxxii. 22.

^b Ps. lxxxvi. 13.

^c 2 Sam. xxii. 6. & Ps. xviii. 5.

^d Ps. cxvi. 3.

^e Minutes p. cxli.

^f Little yellow covered sermon, published in 1824, p. 24.

^g Prov. xxiii. 14.

^h Ps. lv. 15.

"and that her guests are in the depths of *sheol*." "Her feet go down to death; her steps take hold on *sheol*." These passages are explained by another which, says, "Her house is the way to *sheol*; going down to the chambers of death."^a To such characters Isaiah says, "thou" "didst debase thy self even unto *sheol*."^b Whether this hell was before or after death, may be learned from Ezekiel who says of a certain character, "he went down to *sheol*." "I cast him down to *sheol*, with them that descend into the pit." "They also went down into *sheol* with him, unto them that be slain with the sword." "The strong among the mighty shall speak to him out of the midst of *sheol* with them that help him: they are gone down, they lie uncircumcised, slain by the sword." "And they shall not lie with the mighty that are fallen of the uncircumcised, which are gone down to *sheol*, with their weapons of war: and they have laid their swords under their heads, but their iniquities shall be upon their bones, though they were the terror of the mighty in the land of the living."^c That this hell was not before death, is evident, because the subjects of it, though formerly "in the land of the living," were "slain with the sword," before they went to hell. That *sheol* here means something more than the interment of the body, appears from their speaking to one another out of the midst of *sheol*, as did the rich man and Lazarus. They had vainly expected that by laying their swords under their heads in the grave, they should take their weapons of war with them to *sheol*. Contempt is here thrown upon this expectation, by ironically asserting its truth. Instead of this, however, it is declared that "their iniquities, or the punishment of their iniquities, shall be upon their bones." This shows that they were in torment with the rich man, whose iniquity was upon his tongue. With a view to the reception of many such characters, Isaiah says, "*Sheol* hath enlarged herself, and opened her mouth without measure: and their glory, and their multitude, and their pomp, and he that rejoiceth, shall descend into it."^d The Restitutionists say that this mouth which is opened without measure, shall one day be satisfied. But "*sheol*" is declared by Solomon, to be one of those things that say, "it is not enough."^e They and the Des-

^a Prov. ix. 18. v. 5. vii. 27.

^b Is. lvii. 9.

^c Ez. xxxi. 15-17. 32. 31. 27.

^d Is. v. 14.

^e Prov. xxx. 16.

tructionists think that after "*Sheol* hath enlarged herself," she will nevertheless become superannuated, and die. This is correct, when applied to number four above. There will, at the resurrection, be a re-union of the souls and the bodies of men, and therefore a state of separation will be forever at an end. Thus *sheol*, in that sense, may be said to be "old and full of days," or *satisfied* with living, as Moses says Isaac was, when he was gathered to his people, and his sons buried him. But although *sheol*, a state of separation, will be full of days; *sheol*, a state of *destruction*, never will be full. Solomon says, "*Sheol* and *destruction* are never full: so the eyes of man are never *satisfied*."^a If this destruction meant annihilation, then Solomon would not have said, "*Sheol* and *destruction* are before the Lord."^b If those who go to *sheol*, are to be annihilated, then that is the very city of refuge, to which God's incorrigible enemies would flee, after they have called in vain for the rocks and mountains to fall upon them, and hide them from his presence. But in Ps. cxxxix: 7, mentioned in number six, above; David says, "Whither shall I go from thy Spirit? or whither shall I flee from thy presence? If I ascend up into heaven, thou art there; if I make my bed in *sheol*, behold thou art there."^c Dr. Campbell says, "It is plain that in the Old Testament, the most profound silence is observed in regard to the state of the deceased, their joys, or sorrows, happiness or misery;" that *sheol* "is *always* represented under those figures which suggest something dreadful, dark and *silent*." In making these remarks, he probably had his eye, upon such passages as that in which David says, "Let the wicked be ashamed, and let them be *silent* in *sheol*."^d But let it be recollected that this great man declined the "enumeration and examination of all the passages in both Testaments wherein the word is found," as an *endless* task. If he had examined Ez. xxxii. 21, quoted above, in which a heathen is represented as speaking "out of the midst of *sheol*," would he have said that this was "*always* represented" as *silent*? The truth is, it is sometimes represented in one light and sometimes in the other. Its silence denotes dismay, and its utterance is the language of persevering impiety, and hopeless importunity; weeping, wailing, and gnashing of

^a Prov. xxvii. 20.

^b Prov. xv. 11.

^d Ps. xxxi. 17.

^c In. No. 6. this is among the *contrasts*, in No. 7, it is recognised as a *probable*. it might be justly added to those which are deemed *certain*.

teeth. Between these two representations there is no inconsistency. Precisely the same diversity occurs in our Saviour's representations of the day of judgment; as they are found in Matt. xxii. 11—13, and xxv. 41—46. In one of these passages the convict is represented as "speechless;" in the other, as justifying himself. But in both cases, whether they be Jews or Gentiles, they are sent to deserved punishment; for "the wicked shall be turned into *sheol*, and "all the nations that forget God."^a From this all their honours and pleasures cannot preserve them. Though they were "clothed in purple and fine linen, and fared sumptuously every day;" they are liable at any moment, to have it said to them, "thou fool, this night thy soul shall be required of thee." "They spend their days in wealth, and in a moment go down to *sheol*."^b Though in this world they were protected from the heat, by tents of state, and roofs of cedar, by refreshing air and every healthful and exhilarating potion, it shall be far otherwise there. "Drought and heat consume the snow waters: so doth *sheol* those which have sinned."^c Although God is not cruel but just, in thus consuming them for ever, without the possibility of annihilation or restitution, Solomon calls their state of punishment *cruel*, on account of the intensity and the duration of their torments. "Jealousy^d is *cruel* as *sheol*. The coals thereof are coals of fire, which hath a most vehement flame."^e Thus did the rich man in the gospel find it. If his torment be *sorrow* and *misery*, then the Old Testament is not silent on this subject, as Dr. Campbell has, without examination, asserted it to be.

2.

HÆDES.

We are already informed by Mr. Balfour, "that the word *Hades* is only used eleven times in the New Testament. "It is rendered in the common version once *grave*, and in all the other ten places, by the word *hell*."^f Two of these passages are the same declaration of our Saviour, reported by two Evangelists. "And thou Capernaum! which art exalted to heaven, shalt be thrust down to *hades*."^g This is tantamount to a denunciation of the prophet Obadiah against

^a Ps. ix. 17.

^b Job, xxi. 13.

^c Job, xxiv. 19.

^d That is, the jealousy of God, as in the second commandment.

^e Cant. viii. 6.

^f Chap. i. Sec. 2.

^g Matt. xi. 23. Luke x. 15.

Edom. "Though thou exalt thyself as the eagle, and though thou set thy nest among the stars, thence will I bring thee down, saith the Lord." In the verse immediately preceding, the prophet informs us that this exaltation of the Edomites to the stars was in their own conceit. "The pride of thy heart hath deceived thee." They thought their fortress in the rock, to be the summit of safety; but God threatens their downfall. So the people of Capernaum thought that they had attained the pinnacle of prosperity, and that their happiness was to be permanent. But Christ lets them know that their fall shall be as low as their imaginary elevation was exalted. What divine justice threatened, divine faithfulness doubtless executed.

There are four instances in which *hades* appears to denote the state of separate spirits, whose bodies are in the grave. Peter quotes David's prophecy concerning Christ's resurrection, and the consequent re-union of his human soul and body; "thou wilt not leave my soul in *hades*, nor suffer thine holy one to see corruption." The Apostle then adds, "His soul was not left in *hades*, neither his flesh did see corruption."^a As Christ's vicarious and law-satisfying death removes the sting of his people's death; so his resurrection is a victory over *hades*, by securing the happy re-union of the souls and bodies of his people. Therefore the Spirit says, "O death! where is thy sting? O *hades*! where is thy victory?"^b The divine Jesus asserts his victory, when addressing John at Patmos: "I am the First and the Last: I am He that liveth and was dead; and behold! I am alive for evermore, Amen; and have the keys of *hades* and of death."^c In some of these passages, as also in Hos. xiii. 14, the state of eternal punishment may be intended; though I cannot see any reason for supposing that the word *grave* is a correct translation, unless the general place of departed spirits be intended by this word, as is sometimes the case.

In the five remaining instances, as in the two first, mentioned above, it is intended to point out the *place* of torment, or the *inhabitants* of that world of woe. When our Saviour says, "the gates of *hades* shall not prevail against"^d his church, I understand him as referring to the *inhabitants* of hell, especially those who were high in command: for such characters usually occupied the gates of Jerusalem, and oth-

^a Acts, ii. 27, 31.

^b 1 Cor. xv. 55.

^c Rev. i. 18.

^d Matt. xvi. 18.

er cities. Job "went out to the gate." "Mordacai came before the king's gate." David the king "went up to the chamber over the gate." Isaiah says to the officers of government and the people at large, "Howl, O gate! cry, O city! thou, whole Palestina, art dissolved." "In the city is "left desolation, and the gate is smitten with destruction;" that is, there is desolation among the people, and destruction among their rulers. Thus the gates of their enemies prevailed against them. But concerning the church, Christ says, "the gates of *hades*," that is the devil and his legions, "shall not prevail against it."

Although the devil and his legions shall never prevail against the church, they are said to destroy many of the human race. "And I looked, and behold a pale horse: and his name that sat on him was Death, and *Hades* followed with him. "And power was given unto them over the fourth part of "the earth, to kill with sword, and with hunger, and with "death, and with the beasts of the earth." As *Sheol* is sometimes connected with the word *destruction*, so *Hades* is here connected with the *work* of *destruction*: and let it be observed that it is mentioned as *following* death, not *preceding* it;—as following *with* death, not waiting until the general resurrection. As soon as the sinner dies, his soul enters the place of torment, as the soul of the believer enters Paradise. The effect of the resurrection and the general judgment is, to re-unite their bodies to their souls, and increase their misery or their bliss. When the souls of the wicked are separated from their bodies, and cast into the lake of fire, where the rich man's soul was tormented, while his body was in the grave, this is the first death. When this separation ceases and their souls and bodies are punished together in this lake of fire, this is called the second death. "And the "sea gave up the dead which were in it; and death and *hades* "delivered up the dead which were in them: and they were "judged every man according to their works. And death "and *hades* were cast into the lake of fire. This is the second "death."^b Many millions of sinners have perished in the sea; especially in the general deluge, when there was nothing but sea.^c These dead bodies are to be delivered up. But many millions of sinners have perished on the land, intended by "*death*" in the text. These dead bodies also shall be delivered up at the resurrection. All the souls belonging to

^a Rev. vi. 8.

^b Rev. xx. 13, 14.

^c See Horsley, on Christ's descent into Hell.

these bodies are in *hades*, with the rich man. Therefore it is said "*hades* delivered up the dead," that is, the souls which were in it. "And they were judged every man according to their works. And [after the judgment,] *death*, [that is, their bodies, which were once dead,] and *hades*, [that is, their souls, which were before in the lake without their bodies,] were cast into the lake of fire [together.] This is the second death." I know that the whole tribe of Universalists, who believe the devil a mere personification, pretend also that *death* and *hades*, in this text, are mere personifications or nonentities: and they would wisely teach us, that these nonentities are cast into the lake of fire, that they may be more completely *nonentified*. To call this a second death or a first death either, would be strange indeed, since there is nothing to die! Mr. Hume could have saved them this trouble, by proving that *sinner*s are nonentities. But if it be true, that God is a real being, and a just judge;—and if it be true that the devil and the devil's children have a real existence, then it is also true that "*Tophet* is ordained of old; yea, for the king it is prepared: he hath made it deep and large: the pile thereof is fire and much wood; the breath of the Lord, like a stream of brimstone, doth kindle it." What could the Prophet mean here, by that fiery *Tophet*, prepared for the king, and kindled by the breath of an angry God, but that "everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels," into which the wicked are to be driven by the breath of the Lord, in the sentence of condemnation, at the day of judgment?

The only remaining instance in which the New Testament gives the name of *hades* to this state of punishment, is in the case of the rich man. "And in *hades*, he lifted up his eyes, being in torments."^a This has been correctly referred to, in support of my five arguments severally. This case shews the *helplessness of the sinner*, and the consequent impossibility of his restitution from hell: "They which would pass from hence to you, *cannot*; *neither* can they pass to us that would come from thence." From these words their state must be eternally fixed; and there is as great a *contrast* between the eternal destiny of the one, and that of the other, as between heaven and hell. In these words it is also plainly *denied* that their condition ever will or can be changed. As a reason for this it is *affirmed* that he is in *hades*, in torments; that is, he is in *hell*, the place of eternal punish-

^a Luke xvi. 23.

ment. That which is affirmed in one verse, is also plainly *implied* in another; where "Abraham said, son, remember "that thou, in thy life time, receivest thy good things, and "likewise Lazarus evil things: but now he is comforted and "thou art tormented." My opponent would make you believe that *hell* is in *this* life, and that it is to be seen and experienced in scenes of revelry and debauchery: but we are here informed that in *this* life, the rich man received his comforts, and his good things; and his *hell* was, to lift up his affrighted eyes, and to utter his unavailing cries, in a tormenting flame, after he was dead and buried.

It is with reluctance, I confess, that the quibbling of Mr. Balfour and my opponent about his being on a *level* with Lazarus, is here noticed. The former speaks as follows, viz: "Whatever place *hades* is, in which the rich man is here represented as in torment, it is very evident that Abraham and Lazarus were also in *hades*. Though spoken of as at some distance from each other, yet they were within sight and hearing, and could converse together. The one is not represented as in heaven, and the other in hell: no; they are represented as in the same place, and on a *level* with each other." In addition to this, if I mistake not, my opponent has endeavoured to prove this level by means of the gulph which was fixed between them: understanding by this gulph, a body of water, which, of course, seeks its level. "In fact," says he, "the whole scene is laid upon a plain, which was supposed to be under ground; every word in the original, signifying *motion*, implies that the places each side of the gulph, were on a level with each other; there is not one word which conveys the idea of *ascending* or of *descending*, but every expression implies distance, and not height nor depth."

In answer to these sage remarks, I would ask, was it not strange for the rich man, lying near a vast body of water, to ask a man on the other side of it, to bring him one drop? But stop; this body of water was not so large, for they could converse across it. Of course, it must have been navigable by a canoe. Why then did Abraham call it impassable? But why should they wish to pass it? These gentlemen have proved that they were in the same place; in the same state, although they had the gulph between them, and although they were as far off from each other. Is it true that two peo-

a Chap. i. Sec. 2.

b Minutes p. 135.

ple cannot speak to each other on the river which is near us, without being in the same vessel, and without being on a level? Cannot one man from the top of a seventy-four, address another in the bottom of a wherry? and must Pennsylvania and Jersey be the same state, because they can both be seen across the Delaware? But there is one word signifying *motion*, which appears to have escaped the notice of my opponent. "In hell he *lifted up* his eyes." Does this imply that he gave them a horizontal direction? What did he mean just now, when he told you that he had been informed of a general rumour through the city, last evening, that my cause was looking up? Did he mean that it was thought to be on a level with his? Let it therefore be remembered that unless we can reconcile palpable absurdities, then there is not one iota of evidence to prove that Lazarus and the rich man were in the same place. Their seeing and speaking will not prove it, unless we are acquainted with the organs of separate spirits. The contrary conclusion should be drawn from the express words of scripture. The one was "in hell," and the other "afar off;" the one was "in torments," and the other "in Abraham's bosom." If torment and comfort are the same thing, and heaven and hell the same place, then the rich man and Lazarus were in the same state.

It has already been shewn, that my opponent and his coadjutors consider this passage of scripture a parable; and a parable, they think, can, with a little ingenuity, be made to mean any thing or nothing. When it is most convenient, they scruple not to make glaring insinuations, that what they call parables, contain falsehoods. But let us see what they have done in the elucidation of this parable, as they would have it to be. Mr. Ballou in his "Notes on the Parables,"^a makes the rich man to stand for the Aaronic High Priest, and the pious beggar for the Gentiles. The death of Lazarus, means the conversion of the Gentiles, and the death of the rich man the close of the Mosaic dispensation. His being in hades, means conviction of sin, and his seeing the beggar in Abraham's bosom, means his witnessing the conversion of the Gentiles to Abraham's faith. My opponent agrees with this interpretation, and thinks that he makes a slight improvement by interpreting "Abraham and his bosom, the gospel dispensation."^b As those who are run mad for alle-

^a Parable 38.

^b Lectures p 202. Note.

gory, can never be satisfied with a parable, until they have taught it to go on all-fours, my opponent has spared no pains in inquiring after the rich man's five brethren. If he has, at different times, had different opinions upon this subject, it is an error to which all great men are liable, in such important pursuits.

Previous to his debate with Mr. Bishop, in the Northern Liberties, he delivered a popular sermon, in which he is said to have used the following words, viz: "any man of sense, or common understanding, must know, that, by the five brethren, is to be understood the five books of Moses."^a By the same authority, we are publicly informed, (and I believe, without contradiction) that my opponent has since relinquished that interpretation, which he said that "any man of sense or common understanding, must" adopt; and has very complaisantly fallen in with Mr. Ballou's opinion, that the five brethren are the same as the five foolish virgins. This is evidently an improvement; and goes to shew that this is an age of improvement. The first interpretation was, I think myself, a little exceptionable; as there was evidently no more reason, for believing that these five brethren meant the five books of Moses, than that it meant certain five *Canaanizing* cities in the land of Egypt;^b or the five changes of raiment which Joseph gave to Benjamin;^c or the five porches of the pool of Bethesda;^d or the five barley loaves which fed so many thousands.^e To make them mean the five books of Moses, is as arbitrary, as to make them figurative of the five horses which were sent to the Syrian camp;^f or of the five rams, five he-goats, and the five lambs, which Nashon, the son of Aminidab offered "for a sacrifice of peace-offering;"^g or the five sparrows that were sold for two farthings;^h or the five golden enrods, and the five golden mice, which the Philistines offered for a trespass offering."ⁱ I think, therefore, upon mature deliberation, that my opponent was right in discarding this scheme, although, in doing so, he is stigmatized by his former declaration, as a man destitute of "sense or common understanding."

^a See Mr. G. Bishop's "Public Controversy," published in Philadelphia, A.D. 1822, p. 148. Note.

^b Isa. xix. 18.

^c John v. 2.

^d John vi. 9.

^e 2 Kings vii. 13.

^f Numb. vii. 17.

^g Luke xii. 6.

^h 1 Sam. vi. 4.

ⁱ Gen. xiv. 22.

It has already been admitted that making these five brethren to mean the five foolish virgins instead of the five books of Moses, is a real improvement. Although I am myself an advocate of the old way, and therefore unfit to engage largely in the improvements of the present day, I would modestly suggest the possibility of an improvement even upon this interpretation. Might it not be more plausible to go in search of some quintuple, of the same sex with these five brethren, as well as of the same moral character? This disagreement of sex would as effectually prevent some from identifying them with the five foolish virgins, as with Abigail's "five damsels."^a Being driven off of this ground, we had better pass by Joseph's five brethren whom he introduced to Pharaoh,^b and the five sons of Micah and Adriel,^c and the five sons of Zerah,^d as being rather doubtful characters. It is true, this would be no solid objection, if they were the only fives mentioned in scripture: but there are many others much more to the purpose; and among these we can choose that one, which will most effectually help to allegorize the rich man out of torment. Since therefore, we have determined that these five brethren do not mean the penteteuch, nor the foolish virgins, may they not mean the five husbands of the Samaritan woman?^e or the five spies that stole Micah's Gods?^f or the five Lords of the Philistine *Pentarchy*?^g or the five kings of Midian, whom Moses slew?^h or the five kings of the Amorites, whom Joshua hanged upon five trees?ⁱ These are unexceptionable resemblances, as to sex and character. They are as much like the five brethren, as the Universalists are like the Unitarians: and all of them, whether brethren, husbands, spies, Lords, Kings, Universalists, or Unitarians, are very much of a piece.

But after all, there is a great difference between faith and fancy; between expounding scripture, and darkening counsel by words without knowledge. I would rather, with the Apostle Paul, "speak five words with my understanding,"^j than to form ten thousand heretical conjectures concerning these five brethren, which are intended only to smother the plain truth. This passage is plain, whether it be called history or parable. In either case, it can mean nothing less,

^a 1 Sam. xxv. 42.

^b Gen. lxvii. 2.

^c 1 Sam. xxi. 8.

^d 1 Chr. ii. 6.

^e In. iv. 18.

^f Judg. xviii. 2.

^g 1 Sam. vi. 16. 17.

^h Num. xxxi. 8.

ⁱ Josh. x. 5. 26.

^j 1 Cor. xiv. 19.

than that, immediately after death, the soul of a believer goes to the happiness of heaven, and that of an unbeliever to the torments of hell; between which two states, there is an absolutely eternal separation. The language of Abraham communicates thus much, and thus the rich man evidently understood it: for he gives up all hope of his own salvation; and asks, as his last request, that his brethren may not come thither to aggravate his torment five fold. He is not consoled with the Unversalist salvo, that although he cannot pass the gulph himself, God can and will take him over. Instead of this, he considers the words of Abraham, as God's infallible declaration, that he never shall pass from hell to heaven, nor have his torments mitigated by one drop of comfort.

But instead of placing this impassable gulph between believers and unbelievers in the eternal world, Mr. Ballou and my opponent would place it between the Jews and Gentiles in this world! the very contrary of which is declared by the Spirit of Christ. "For he is our peace, who hath made both one, and hath broken down the middle wall of partition between us; having abolished in his flesh the enmity, even the law of commandments contained in ordinances; for to make in himself of twain, one new man, so making peace; and that he might reconcile both unto God in one body by the cross, having slain the enmity; and came, and preached peace to you which were afar off, [to the Gentiles,] and to them that were nigh, [to the Jews.]"^a What a pity, that when Christ has pulled down the wall of separation between Jews and Gentiles, the Universalists should endeavour to fix an impassable gulph between them! But the truth is, they found this gulph in their way; and they were as much at a loss to know where to put it, as they were to find accommodations for their five unbelieving brethren; and as is often the case with prevaricating witnesses, they placed it exactly where it ought not to be.

The absurdity of this scheme is equally great in another respect. The beggar "died;" and after death, those good angels, which my opponent would consider personifications, or non-entities, carried his soul to happiness. The rich man also "died," and his body was buried; but after death, his soul was carried, by personifications of another description, to the world of torment. Although in this world he asked

^a Eph. ii. 14—17.

no mercy, he calls for it there, where it cannot be found. Abraham reminds him of the condition in which he and Lazarus were placed in their "life-time," but tells them, that "now" after their death and burial, their conditions are greatly changed. To shew that they were really dead, the rich man requests that Lazarus may be sent "from the dead," and Abraham assures him that an unbeliever cannot be saved, "though one rose from the dead." In the face of this accumulated and unequivocal testimony of inspiration, the scheme which we are opposing, requires us to believe that there was no death in the case; but that this whole account relates to the transactions of this life.

You can scarcely conceive of the extent of that barbarity with which these people treat the word of God, until you make a close comparison of their views with the oracles of truth. This we shall now endeavour to do, in a paraphrase which shall incorporate the features of their interpretation, with the sacred text. This method of exposing error is used with reverence to God, and love to your souls: for consequences, let the corrupters of Revelation be answerable. The Universalist paraphrase is as follows, viz. "There was a certain rich man [the Aaronic High Priest,] which was clothed in purple and fine linen, and fared sumptuously every day. And there was a certain beggar, named Lazarus, [the Gentiles,] which was laid at his gate, full of sores, and desiring to be fed with the crumbs which fell from the rich man's table, [the High Priest's table.] Moreover, the dogs, [the Apostles] came and licked his sores. And it came to pass, that the beggar, [the Gentiles] died, [became converted] and was carried by the angels [the personifications, or non-entities, or these dogs, the Apostles,] into Abraham's bosom, [the Gospel dispensation.] The rich man [the Aaronic High Priest,] also died, [was ex-communicated] and was buried, [alive] and in hell [in this life,] he lifted up his eyes [to an exact level,] being in torments [of conviction,] and seeth Abraham, [the gospel] afar off, [very near in the same place,] and Lazarus, [the Gentiles] in his bosom, [its dispensation.] And he cried, and said, Father Abraham, [gospel!] have mercy on me; and send Lazarus [the Gentiles] that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue; for I am tormented in this flame. But Abraham, [the gospel] said, son, [Jews] remember, that thou in thy life-time [and thou hast never died,] receivedst thy good things,

“and likewise Lazarus [the Gentiles,] evil things: but
 “now he is comforted, and thou art tormented. And besides
 “all this, between us [the Gentiles,] and you [the Jews,] there
 “is a great gulph fixed; [in the room of that middle wall of
 “partition which is broken down,] so that they which would
 “pass from hence to you, cannot; neither can they pass to
 “us, that would come from thence. Then he, [the High Priest]
 “said, I pray thee therefore, Father, [gospel,] that thou
 “wouldst send him, [the Gentiles] to my Father’s house, [the
 “Jews;] for I have five brethren, [the five books of Moses,
 “or the five foolish Virgins,] that he may testify unto them,
 “lest they also come into this place of torment. Abraham,
 “[the gospel,] saith unto him, [the High Priest,] they [the
 “five books of Moses, or the five foolish Virgins] have Moses
 “and the Prophets; let them hear them. And he said, nay,
 “Father Abraham: but if one went unto them from the
 “dead, [before he dies,] they will repent. And he said unto
 “him, if they [the five books or Virgins] hear not Moses
 “and the Prophets, neither will they be persuaded though
 “one rose from the dead [before he dies.”]^a

But if it be true that God is not to be mocked with impunity;—if it be true, that after the death and burial of the body, the soul must go with good angels to Abraham’s bosom, or with evil angels to the place of torment;—and if it be true, that that Divine Redeemer, whose blood removed the wall of partition from between Jews and Gentiles, has given his word, that none shall ever pass that gulph which lies between Heaven and Hell;—then let those who reject or trifle with the word of God, repent or tremble.

3.

GEHENNA.

In the Old Testament we read of *the Valley of Hinnom*,^b which is once^c called by the Septuagint, *Gaienna*,^d but never *Gehenna*.^e This latter word *Gehenna*, occurs twelve times in the New Testament, in not one of which, does it denote the *Gaienna* of the Old Testament, although it is generally supposed, and perhaps, correctly, to allude to that place. It is as correctly supposed that our Saviour alluded to *the Garden of Eden*, when he said to the dying thief “to day shalt thou be with me in *Paradise*;^f” which word,^g is

^a Luke xvi. 19—31.

^b גֵּי הִנּוֹם

^c Josh. xviii. 16.

^d γαῖννα

^e γέεννα

^f Luke xxiii. 43.

^g παραδεισος.

repeatedly used in the Septuagint,^a to signify a literal earthly garden, orchard, or forest.^b But there is often a great difference between the thing spoken of, and the thing alluded to. Our Saviour alluded to an earthly garden, which a man enjoys in this life: but he promised to take the repenting, believing, and praying robber, to a Paradise, which was to be enjoyed by his soul, after death. So when Joshua the son of Nun, spoke of the Valley of Hinnom, or *Gaienna*, he meant a spot of ground near the earthly Jerusalem, which, in process of time, became a scene of idolatry, cruelty, and pollution; and in which place worms were generally found, and a fire was kept up a long time, to consume the carcasses which were thrown into it. But let it be noted that these worms died, and this fire was extinguished; and while it burned, it consumed nothing more than the body: whereas the *Gehenna*, with which sinners are threatened by the Divine Joshua, the son of God, is a flame which seizes the soul immediately after death, and both soul and body after the general judgment; and in addition to this, it is a flame which "never shall be quenched." But we proceed to cite all the passages in which it occurs.

"It is profitable for thee, that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into *Gehenna*." "Whosoever shall say thou fool, shall be in danger of the *Gehenna* of fire." "It is better for thee to enter into life with one eye, rather than having two eyes, to be cast into the fiery *Gehenna*." "Ye make him [your proselyte,] two fold more the child of *Gehenna* than yourselves." The tongue "is set on fire of *Gehenna*." "Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of *Gehenna*?" "Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul: but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in *Gehenna*." "Fear him, which, after he hath killed, hath power to cast into *Gehenna*." "It is better for thee to enter into life maimed, than having two hands, to go into *Gehenna*, into the fire that never shall be quenched." "It is better for thee to enter halt into life, than having two feet to be cast into *Gehenna*, into the fire that never shall be quenched." "It is better for thee to enter into the kingdom of God with one eye, than having two eyes to be cast into the fiery *Ge-*

^a Neh. ii. 8. Eccles. ii. 5. Cant. iv. 13.

^b גֶּרְדֵּם

"*henna*, where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched."^a

After reading the above passages of Scripture, any plain and pious person of common sense, would understand the *Gehenna* of the New Testament, to be quite a different place from the *Gaienna* of the Old Testament, although the one alludes to the other, and is illustrated by it. In *the Valley of Hinnom*, the worm dies, and the fire is quenched : but in *Gehenna*, "their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched." In *Gaienna*, the body only is consumed, but in *Gehenna*, both soul and body. And here it will not do to argue, as Mr. Balfour does very elaborately, and as if he were in earnest, that the soul and body mean nothing but our mortal part : for men can kill every thing that is mortal about us ; but the soul here spoken of, is one which our Saviour declares they cannot kill. "Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul ; but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in *Gehenna*."^b

Universalists perceive that our interpretation of the above passages is very much strengthened by the use which is made in them, of such words as *fire*, *destruction*, and *damnation* ; and accordingly, they spend much time upon these topics. I shall, with the help of God, attend to them, as concisely as possible :

(1.) *Fire*. Since it has pleased the all wise God, in condescension to our stupidity, to use the word *fire*, and the phrase *fire and brimstone*, to point out the torments of the wicked, or the means or agency by which those torments are inflicted, it becomes us to receive these and similar words and expressions, as the words of God ; and not to be ashamed of them, on account of the profane wit of men, as we would wish Christ not to be ashamed of us before his Father and the holy angels. Christians will not cavil at these words, and quibble about them, as Dr. Chauncey has done. If God has plainly declared that there is an unquenchable fire, which shall burn the soul as well as the body, a christian will not contradict him, by objections drawn from the qualities of that fire, with which we are daily conversant. As well might he draw objections from that water which our bodies drink, to refute the doctrine that there is "a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the

^a Matt. v. 29. 30. 22. xviii. 9. xxiii. 15. Jas. iii. 6. Matt. xxiii. 33. x. 28. Luke xii. 5. Mk. ix. 43. 45. 47.

^b Chapt. 1. Sect. 3.

^c Matt. x. 28.

"throne of God and of the Lamb."^a Whatsoever qualities may be found in our lower rivers, there is in Heaven, a river of water, which shall refresh the souls and the spiritualized bodies of God's people, to all eternity: and whatsoever may be the qualities of our earthly fires, or furnaces, there is a *Tophet*, a lake of fire, in hell, which shall torment the souls and bodies of the finally impenitent, to an absolute eternity.

The existence of such a fire after the day of judgment, and its existence for a long and indefinite duration, was admitted by Mr. Winchester himself; though he denied its absolute eternity. The following are his words, viz. "After the second resurrection and the judgment, the whole globe shall be turned into a lake of fire and brimstone, where the wicked shall be punished for ages of ages."^b In the natural progress of Universalism toward Atheism, it is no wonder that many of Mr. Winchester's former adherents, now deny that there is to be a general judgment, or any future punishment at all. In defending this refinement of error, they must of course say something of that fire, which Mr. Winchester thought would torment the wicked after death. They all, with one consent, quote that text in which God says, "He is like a refiner's fire, and like fuller's soap; and he shall sit as a refiner and purifier of silver, and he shall purify the sons of Levi; and purge them as gold and silver, that they may offer unto the Lord, an offering in righteousness."^c Mr. Ballou quotes a number of passages in which fire is mentioned, and then selects one which he calls his *key text*.^d He then says, "By my *key* I learn, that the fire which causes the wicked to suffer, has the power of salvation even for the sufferers. So in all the passages recited, where fire is mentioned, it is evident the same fire is intended." "All the passages which allude to a dispensation of fire, which I have observed in this work," continues Mr. Ballou, "are direct evidences to prove the destruction of sin and all sinful works, the purification of sinners, and their eternal reconciliation to holiness and happiness."^e

In view of such remarks, let us read a few passages of scripture; "There shall the fire devour thee; the sword

^a Rev. xxii. 1.

^b Dialogue 5th.

^c Mal. iii. 2. 3. Minutes p. 103. Ballou on Atonement, p. 155.

^d 1 Cor. iii. 15. compare my third Universalist argument.

^e On Atonement, pp. 154. 219. 220.

"shall cut thee off; it shall eat thee up like the canker-worm." "A *fire* devoureth before them, and behind them a flame burneth." "The same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out without mixture, into the cup of his indignation; and he shall be tormented with *fire and brimstone*, in the presence of the holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb."^a Now, according to Mr. Ballou and my opponent, these texts should be considered promises instead of threats; promises that God would purify sinners through love. Is the sword an instrument of purification, or of destruction? Is the canker-worm an instrument of purification, or of corruption? This devouring fire,—this burning flame,—this tormenting fire and brimstone, are so far from being sent in love, that they are said, in the last passage quoted, to proceed from unmingled *wrath*. It is elsewhere spoken of, in language which should not be thought equivocal. "The Lord Jesus shall be revealed from Heaven, with his mighty angels, in flaming *fire*, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ." "A *fire* is kindled in mine *anger*, which shall burn upon you." "A *fire* is kindled in mine *anger*, and shall burn unto the lowest *hell*." "Ye have kindled a *fire* in mine *anger*, which shall burn forever." "The sinners in Zion are afraid; fearfulness hath surprised the hypocrites. Who among us shall dwell with the *devouring fire*? Who among us shall dwell with *everlasting burning*?" "Depart from me, ye cursed, into *everlasting fire*." Sodom and Gomorrah "are set forth for an example, suffering the *vengeance of eternal fire*."^b

But my opponent congratulates himself upon having a happy method of eluding the force of these texts, by saying that there is a difference between going to everlasting burnings, and being burned everlastingly. This quibble is as well presented by Mr. Murray as by any Universalist with whom I am acquainted. Concerning the cities of the plain, he says, "These people were set forth as an example, suffering the vengeance of eternal fire. But they were not set forth as an example eternally suffering the vengeance of fire." "They may suffer the vengeance of eternal fire, if they suffer but

^a Nah. iii. 15. Joel ii. 3. Rev. xiv. 10.

^b 2 Thea. i. 7. 8. Jer. xv. 14. Dut. xxxii. 22. Jer. xvii. 4. Is. xxxiii. 14. Matt. xxv. 41. Jude vii.

a moment!!”^a While speaking in this way, it is possible that these gentlemen forgot that they are in the habit of giving the very opposite interpretation, to precisely the same form of expression, when it may be perverted to their own purpose. They are both in the habit of quoting such texts as speak of the *everlasting love* of God, and the *everlasting joy* of the saints,^b to prove that God will love them, and they shall enjoy him, to an absolute eternity. Why did they not tell us in their unenviable ingenuity, that there is an essential difference between the fruition of *everlasting joy*, and the *everlasting fruition* of joy? Why did they they not assure us, with a detestable disingenuousness, that they might enjoy *everlasting love*, if they enjoyed it but a moment? Does it need great perspicacity to see that if God’s promise of *everlasting love* and *everlasting joy* to the saints, will secure their eternal salvation; then his threat of *everlasting fire* and *everlasting burnings* to the wicked, shall ensure their eternal punishment?

But my opponent has already let you know that his quiver is not exhausted. If this fire must be absolutely eternal, he thinks himself prepared to shew that God himself is this eternal fire; and that it is therefore a happy thing to be cast into it. “For our God is a consuming fire.”^c This argument is of a piece with that which represents this fire as a purifying flame: for those who urge it, say that God consumes their sins, and saves their souls. That God does, in love purify his people in the furnace of affliction, is a glorious and consolatory truth: but the context of every passage in which God is called a *consuming fire*, will shew that he consumes men, and not sins; his enemies, and not his friends; and that he is moved to do this, by just indignation, and not by paternal affection. This is the sense of that passage to which the Apostle alluded, in the text just now quoted. “For the Lord thy God is a consuming fire, even a jealous God.”^d To shew that this jealousy is the zeal of a judge determined to punish sinners, and not that of a father who would purge away sins, Moses says soon afterward, “Understand therefore this day, that the Lord thy God is he which goeth over before thee; as a *consuming fire* he shall *destroy* them, and he shall bring them down before thy face: so shalt thou drive them out, and *destroy* them quickly, as the Lord hath said unto thee.”^e

^a Murray’s Universalism vindicated, pp. 54, 55.

^b Jer. xxxi. 3. Is. lxi. 7. Minutes p. 141.

^c Hebr. xii. 29.

^d Deut. iv. 24.

^e Deut. ix. 3.

But if this fire is God, then the *Gehenna of fire*, must mean the dwelling of God. It becomes necessary therefore, to adopt a scheme of interpretation, which neither of us has hitherto recognized; and make *Gehenna* to signify, neither earth nor hell, but heaven. If this be true, Mr. Ballou may well claim all my authorities, in which this *Gehenna* is found as "direct evidences" in favour of his system instead of mine. Shall I undertake to expose to you, my beloved hearers, the abominable folly and wickedness of this perversion of the sacred oracles? Instead of saying with the Apostle James, that the tongue which is full of deadly poison, "is set on fire of hell," this scheme of interpretation would represent it as *set on the God of heaven*. According to this, whosoever shall say thou fool, shall be in danger of the dwelling of God, instead of the *Gehenna of fire*. According to this system, it is better for thee to enter into life with one eye, rather than having two eyes, to be cast into the dwelling of God. This plan would make it impossible for those whom our Saviour called serpents and vipers, to escape from going to heaven. But if such gross absurdity be far beneath the dignity of common sense, how infinitely is it beneath the wisdom of him who spake as man never spake! That my opponent should turn his back upon his own argument, is natural enough. I am only sorry that his chagrin should make him deny that he ever used it.^b

(2.) *Destruction*. In two of the passages where *Gehenna* occurs, it is insinuated, that in certain cases, if a man permit not a member to *perish* or *be destroyed*^c on earth, his whole body shall be destroyed in *Gehenna*. In another passage we are told to fear him who is able to *destroy*^d both soul and body in *Gehenna*. The same Greek verb occurs in all those passages, and is correctly rendered *perish* in one place, and *destroy* in another, because it is in different *voices*. The same verb is translated *lose* where our Saviour promises to "*lose* nothing," that is, *permit nothing to be destroyed*,^e that the Father had given him. The same verb is rendered in the same way, and its conjugate is rendered *perdition* where our Saviour says, "none of them is *lost*, but

^a γέννα του πυρός

^b He has accordingly as far as I can perceive, left it out of those famous Minutes of the Debate, which Mr. Jennings has fathered for him.

^c ἀπολῆται Matt. v. 29. 30.

^d ἀπολίσσει Matt. x. 28.

^e ἀπολίσσει John vi. 39.

the son of *perdition*, or *destruction*.”^a This noun is else-where translated *perdition*, when immediately connected with another word which is rendered *destruction*.^b

The texts just now referred to, prove that the souls and bodies of traitors and rich unbelievers are destroyed in *Gehenna*, after death. To deny the eternity of this destruction, or to confine it to men’s sins instead of their persons, will be found not only inconsistent with scripture, but with former concessions of the Universalists themselves. This word occurs in one of their favourite texts; in which it is said that God is “not willing that any should *perish*,^c but that all should come to repentance.”^d Now suppose that this *perishing* is not eternal, but temporal. Then the text would read, that God is not willing that any should suffer a *temporal* judgment! But again; suppose that it relates to the destruction of men’s sins, instead of their persons. Then the text would mean, that God is not willing that any person’s sins should be *destroyed*! In this place the word *perish*, must relate to the eternal punishment of men’s persons, or the passage would make perfect non-sense, and contradict the Universalists as well as the Orthodox. That it is a dreadful torment, yet to come in its greatest intensity, upon devils and men, is plainly indicated in scripture. Devils said to Jesus, “Art thou come to *destroy* us?” “Art thou come hither to torment us before the time?”^e That it is the very opposite of eternal salvation, James intimates, in saying, “There is one Lawgiver, who is able to *save* and to *destroy*.”^f Paul also, repeatedly contrasts the two. He speaks of Satan and the Pope, as working “with all *deceivableness* of unrighteousness, in them that *perish*;^g because “they received not the love of the truth, that they might be *saved*.” “For we are unto God, a sweet savour of Christ, “in them that are *saved* and in them that *perish*.”^h To shew that our Saviour meant that this is an eternal *destruction*, he repeatedly contrasts it with *eternal life*. “And I give

^a οὐδεὶς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀπολῶται, εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπολῶσις. John xvii. 12.

^b 1 Tim. vi. 9.

^c ἀπολεσθῆναι

^d 2 Pet. iii. 9.

^e ἀπολεσθῆναι.

^f Luke iv. 34. Matt. viii. 29.

^g Jas. iv. 12.

^h ἀπολλυμένων.

ⁱ ἀπολλυμένων. 2 Thess. ii. 10. 2 Cor. ii. 15.

"unto them *eternal life*, and they shall never *perish*." "And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up, that whosoever believeth on him should not *perish*, but have *eternal life*. For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not *perish*, but have *everlasting life*." ^a In these two last passages, as in 2 Peter iii. 9. ^b both parties are agreed that an eternal destruction is meant.

As this point is established, by the contrast which is made, between this *destruction* or *perdition*, on the one hand and *eternal life* and *salvation*, on the other, so is it confirmed by the connexion which is found between this *perdition*, and an important word of the same meaning. "But they that will be rich, fall into temptations and a snare, and in to many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and *perdition*." ^c Now, that some do wish to be rich, is undeniable; and it is equally incontrovertible, that they fall into temptations and a snare; and that they live and die, in the indulgence of many foolish and hurtful lusts. Then this prophetic threat makes it as certain that they shall be drowned in the lake of *perdition*, as the Mosaic history makes it certain, that the Egyptians were drowned in the Red Sea. In the text this *perdition* is synonymous with destruction. If therefore, destruction be everlasting, so is *perdition*. But Paul says, in another place, that the rejecters of the gospel "shall be punished with *everlasting destruction*." ^d This proof of the eternity of destruction, establishes the eternity of that *perdition*, which is synonymous with it. It also shews, that when the son of *perdition* went to his own place, he went to that *Gehenna*, which is the place of eternal perdition; in which God can and will *destroy* the souls and bodies of gospel despisers, after death and the general judgment.

But Mr. Murray would tell us not to be too hasty with this conclusion; for he has another of his weighty sentences to give us, on this subject, viz. "There is an immense difference between being punished with everlasting destruction, and being everlastingly punished with destruc-

^a John x. 28. iii. 15, 16.

^b See my 7th Universalist Argument.

^c ὀλεσθῶν καὶ ἀπώλειαν 1 Tim. vi. 9.

^d ὀλεσθῶν αἰώνιον 2 Thea. i. 9.

"tion."^a I quoted scripture just now, which shews that this destruction is repeatedly and expressly contrasted with *everlasting life*. Did Mr. Murray, or my opponent, or any other Universalist, ever tell us that there is an immense difference between having eternal life, and eternally having life? They all quote these authorities for the opposite purpose. While they deny that a denunciation of everlasting destruction, destroys the sinner eternally, they all declare that these promises of eternal life, will eternally save those to whom they are made. Satanic subtlety, when exposed, has sometimes the appearance of idiotic imbecility. This argument was intended as a specimen of ingenuity: but it may well serve as an example of fatuity.

(3.) *Damnation*. On a certain occasion our Saviour addressed his hearers in the following awful language. "Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers! how can ye escape the *damnation of Gehenna*?"^b It is admitted that this word signifies condemnation, or adjudication to punishment. The passage would then read, how can ye escape being *condemned*, or *adjudged* to the punishment of *Gehenna*? This is the word which is used to distinguish the day of final account; in which angels and men shall be sentenced to eternal happiness or eternal misery. "Herein is our love made perfect that we may have boldness in the *day of judgment*."^c This boldness of God's believing people arises from a conviction that Jesus Christ, their divine and law-satisfying Surety, has borne their condemnation and punishment, and clothed them with his perfect righteousness. In the day of judgment, they know that they shall be justified through God's covenant mercy. If all men universally, were to shew mercy here, and receive mercy in the day of judgment, none would be damned. But concerning that man who has shewn no mercy, the Apostle says, "he shall have *judgment or damnation* without mercy:" and concerning those who have an interest in Christ, who was made a curse for them, he says, "mercy rejoiceth against *judgment or damnation*."^d Although in this world, this *judgment or damnation* is often the drunkard's song, and is often made so, by the profane taunts of Universalists and Atheists, the Holy Spirit assures

^a Universalism Vindicated, p. 54.

^b τῆς κριτικῆς τῆς γένεως Matt. 23. 33.

^c ἐν τῇ ἀγαπῇ τῆς κριτικῆς. 1 In. 4: 17.

^d Jas. 2: 13. Comp. Gal. 3: 13.

us, that with regard to some, it is fearful in anticipation, even here, and that hereafter, it is followed by that fiery torment, of which Judas and the rich man have already a foretaste, and which awaits all God's adversaries. The unpardonable offender is said to have "a certain fearful looking for, of *judgment*, or *damnation*,^a and fiery indignation, which shall devour the adversaries."

When my opponent insists that we must not look forward so far for this condemnation, but that it takes place in this life; I admit, that before man sinned, angels were condemned; and since that event, he that believeth not is condemned already. But if this condemnation be confined to this life, and reach not beyond the grave, why does the Apostle say, "it is appointed unto men, once to die, but after this the *judgment*?"^b Our Saviour assures us, that after men are dead and buried, "all that are in the graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil unto the resurrection of *damnation*."^c Although fallen angels are already condemned or bound over to punishment, there is yet a great day of accounts before them, which shall be so far from relaxing their bonds, that the chains, by which they are reserved for that dreadful reckoning, are expressly declared to be *everlasting*. "And the Angels which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, he hath reserved in *everlasting chains*, under darkness, unto the *judgment* of the great day."^d That these everlasting chains bind over to everlasting punishment, is plain from the declaration of our Saviour, that "he that shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost, hath never forgiveness, but is in *danger of, deserving of, bound over to, eternal damnation*."^e

The amount of the evidence, under this word *Gehenna*, is, that this is a place of punishment for the soul, after death, and for the soul and body, after the general judgment; that it is a state in which the impenitent and unbelieving are tormented in *unquenchable fire*, with *everlasting destruction*, under *eternal damnation*. May God, for Christ's sake, preserve you from a presumptuous defiance of such a fate.

^a εκδοχη κρισεως. Hebr. i. 27.

^b κρισις. Hebr. ix. 27.

^c αναστασιν κρισεως. In. v. 28, 29.

^d εις κρισιν μεγαλης ημερας. Jude 6.

^e ενοχος εστιν αιωνιου κρισεως. Mk. iii. 29.

TARTARUS.

The word *Tartarus* is not *literally* used once, in our common Greek Scriptures, from Genesis to Revelation. Yet both parties admit that it is *virtually* used there, as one of its participial conjugates is found, among the ἀπαξ λεγόμενα (words once spoken) of the New Testament. The word is *tartarosas* from the verb *tartaroun*. This is literally rendered by the French *abimer*, and the Italian *abissare*; which last word is used for this purpose, in the Italian New Testament, circulated by the British and Foreign Bible Society. The Popish and Protestant French New Testaments, published by the same Society, have rendered it, correctly enough, by a circumlocution; although that language affords a verb exactly corresponding with the original. What they did from choice, we have done from necessity. In this we follow the Latin of the Vulgate and Beza, the German of Luther, and many other examples. Instead of manufacturing a new verb for the occasion, our Hebrew New Testament, now in use, renders it, "cast them down to *Sheol*;" and even the modern Greek, which we should suppose, was not deficient in this respect, renders it, "cast them into *Tartarus*."^a In the Classical Greek writers, the verb and the circumlocution are used interchangeably. Concerning the same persons, Apollodorus says, in one breath, that they are "*intartarated*," and in the next, that they are "*cast into tartarus*."^b

That the Greeks and the Romans considered this a place of punishment for the wicked after death, need not be elaborately proved. Evidences of this are found in all the books. "Virgil, in his sixth *Æneid*, where he probably has a particular reference to the representations made of a future state in the mysteries, as well as to those made by Homer, represents several sorts of persons, who had been guilty of very heinous crimes, as adjudged to grievous punishments in *Tartarus*. Vers 565, et seq." Among the Greeks, the testimony of Plato deserves notice. "In the conclusion of his *Phædo*, he introduces Socrates, in one of his most serious and solemn discourses just before his death, talking after the manner of the Poets, of the judges after death, of *Tartarus*, Acheron, the Acherusian lake, *Pyriphlegethon*, and *Cocy-*

^a τοὺς ἐβάλεν εἰς τὸν τάρταρον.

^b κατὰ τὰ τάρταρον ἔβαλεν = ἔβαλεν εἰς τάρταρον. See Parkhurst

tus : that some, after having gone through various punishments, shall be purged and absolved, and after certain periods, shall be freed from their punishments: 'But those who by reason of the greatness of their sins, seem to be incurable, who have committed many and great sacrileges, or unjust and unlawful murders, and other crimes of the like nature, shall have a fate suitable to them, being thrown down into *Tartarus*, from whence they never shall escape.' The like representation is made at the latter end of Plato's tenth Republic, in the story of Erus Armenius. In his Gorgias also he supposes the wicked, and those who were incurable, to be sent to *Tartarus*, where they shall be punished with endless torments, as an example to others: and he approves of Homer, for representing wicked kings who had tyrannized over mankind, among those who shall be so punished."^c

That the writers of the New Testament adopted many words from the Greeks, in whose language they wrote, is easily accounted for, as it is willingly admitted: but that the doctrines connected with these words in the New Testament, either originated with the Heathen, or are entirely conformable to their views of religion and philosophy, is denied. There is a degree of similarity between Plato's account of *Tartarus*, as given above, and the Scriptural account of the same place: so there is some resemblance between the Inspired and the Platonic description of *Hades*. Both contrast it with heaven, and both represent it as a place of future punishment. The latter is done by the Philosopher in the following words, viz. "They that have sinned more frequently and more heinously, shall fall into the depth, and into those lower places, which are called *Hades*." Again he says to the transgressor, "Thou shalt suffer a suitable punishment, either whilst thou remainest here, or when thou goest to *Hades*."^d That the author of these declarations, differed from the Scriptures, in his views of a future retribution, is evident from the falsehood and folly which he has mixed with his assertions. The Philosophers also differ from the scriptures, in the account which they give of the origin of this doctrine. The Scriptures never once insinuate as they do, that it was borrowed from uninspired human tradition. It is true, the Universalists assert this for them: but the inspired writers uniformly de-

^c Leland's Advantage and Necessity of the Christian Revelation, vol. 2. pp. 267. 265. Finley's edition, Philadelphia.

^d Leland, vol. 2. pp. 318. 319.

liver it, upon the same authority with all their other instructions : they give it as the word of God, and not of man. But when Plato tells us of the punishment of sin being required by the justice of God, he says expressly, that this is "as ancient tradition teacheth."^e Doubtless, this tradition was as ancient as the word *Sheol*, or the language to which it belongs : but although the heathen world received it from the polluted streams of tradition, the church received it, first and last, from the pure fountain of revelation.

As the Church of Christ, whether inspired or uninspired, knows that this doctrine came from the source of truth, they have always treated it as a solemn and eternal truth: How different the treatment which it has received from the Heathen and Heretical world ! Plutarch in speaking of the Epicurean philosophy, says that the generality of the heathen were ready to admit what he calls "the fabulous hope of immortality, but that they had no fear of the punishments said to be in *Hades*."^f Thus they used the words *Hades* and *Tartarus*, to denote a state of punishment hereafter, while in reality, the doctrine of future retribution was, with them, an object of derision. That Mr. Balfour was, in some measure, aware of this, will appear from the following extract, viz. "Though punishment after death in *Tartarus* was believed by the heathen generally, yet the better informed among them did not believe 'in the fables of hell,' but turned them into ridicule. Juvenal took no part in those opinions of the vulgar ; and Virgil says, 'it was the province of philosophy alone to shake off the yoke of custom, rivetted by education.' Is it not then strange, that a doctrine, which was invented by heathens, and treated with contempt by their own wisest men, should be a fundamental article in the faith of christians?"^g

That this doctrine was invented by the heathen, is itself a late invention: since the ancient heathen writers testify that it was not formed by invention, but received by tradition, from a still more remote, and to them, inscrutable antiquity. That their would-be wise-men rejected the doctrine, is admitted. To the names of Virgil and Juvenal among the Romans, might be added those of their poets, orators, historians, and philosophers in general, with the great Seneca and Cicero at their head. To the name of Plutarch, the

^e Leland, vol. 2, p. 364.

^f Leland, vol. 2, p. 391.

^g Chap. 1, sect. 3.

latest of the Greek philosophers, may be added, (strange as it may seem,) the more ancient and eminent Plato and Socrates, Epictetus, Aristotle, and Pythagoras, neither of whom was a real believer in future punishment. With these, the body of the philosophical sects, of Epicureans and Peripatetics, Cynics, Cyrenaics, and Stoics, generally agreed. Mr. Balfour intimates that this rejection of future punishment was among the wise men, while the people generally held our doctrine. It is the opinion of many that on this subject, these Philosophers maintained an *esoteric* and an *exoteric* doctrine; the two opposite systems of Universalism and Orthodoxy; the one for the wise men, and the other for the vulgar; a system of policy which Mr. Balfour attributes to Dr. George Campbell. If this be true, then, according to his scale of morality, they must not only have been *wise men*, but "*the very best of men*." They taught a doctrine publicly, which they inwardly despised, and privately ridiculed. Mr. Balfour is heartily welcome to the suffrages of all such wise men as these, whether ancient or modern. I would not exchange the testimony of one poor heaven-taught martyr, without a name; for that of a regiment of blinded philosophers, without a conscience.

Any enlightened Christian, who considers the gulph of moral degradation, into which sin had plunged these Unitarian wise-men; will not wonder that they resorted to the soothing fables of Universalism or Atheism, to relieve their fears. While they were willing to restrain the vulgar with the fear of God's punitive justice, they were obliged, like modern Universalists, to avert their own guilty faces from his indignant frown. Neither the heathen nor the heretical world can endure the doctrine of God's anger against sin. Although Cicero approves of paying some regard to an oath, he says that this should not be done "out of the fear of the anger of the Gods, for there is no such thing." He declares that "God is never angry, nor hurteth any one;" and concerning this doctrine, he positively asserts, that "it is a principle universally held by all the Philosophers." Concerning the Gods, Seneca declares, "they neither will, nor can hurt any one." As the sufferings of every day, under God's providence, contradict this empty assertion, my opponent will admit that God can and will hurt some, though it will be in this world only. For this he has pointed to the house of the foolish woman: and has assured us that in the haunts of revelry and debauchery, we will find hell with its ten-fold

horrors. Now it is a fact, no less notorious than mournful, that the children of this world, can conceive of no better heaven, than these sensual enjoyments. Notwithstanding the halo of purity, with which the corrupt and ignorant have graced the head of Plato, this universalist wise-man was himself addicted to such vices ; and in his fifth Republic, he represents the enjoyment of such impure pleasures beyond the grave, as constituting the chief feature of the brave soldier's heaven. That this is the doctrine of Mahomet and his millions of followers is well known to you all, I need hardly add, that those Unitarians and Universalists, who have made overtures of confraternity, to the successors of the Arabian impostor, shew by their profession and practice, that this is the heaven which they desire. How could it be otherwise ? They have rejected spiritual happiness, and nothing remains but a carnal paradise. After having despised the Trinity, could they be happy, where a Trinity presides ? After having abhorred the atonement, could they dwell with those who are washed in the Saviour's blood ? and could they relish the heavenly influences of that Divine Spirit, whose Deity and operations they had denied and rejected here ? They have forsaken the fountain of living waters, and it is natural for them to hew out to themselves, cisterns, broken cisterns, which can hold no water. If, therefore, sensual pleasures, in which they delight, be the only hell which is threatened them, what have they to deter them from sin ? Although Mr. Balfour has failed to prove that future punishment was invented by the heathen, it is a fact that this temporal hell of my opponent, is an invention of heathenish corruption and infatuation. While Plutarch represents the fear of future punishment, as a "childish fear," and represents the doctrine which we hold, as made up of "fabulous stories, and the tales of mothers and nurses," he says, "I am of opinion, if it be lawful to say so, that wicked men need neither the Gods nor men to punish them : but their own life, being wholly corrupted, and full of perturbation, is a sufficient punishment."^a

The most prominent argument of these wise men for a future immortality in any condition, was perfectly futile and false, and accordingly, they generally doubted and rejected the doctrine of a future existence altogether. When they appeared to advocate it, it was only for a limited period, and for

^a Leland, vol. 2, pp. 375, 376, 339, 373.

the benefit of the learned only ; but even these *usually* joined in denying it entirely. Aristotle says that "death is the "most dreadful of all things : for that it is the end [of our "existence] : and that to him that is dead, there seems no- "thing farther to remain, whether good or evil." Cicero in his Tusculan Disputations, informs us that the doctrine of the immortality of the soul was despised by the whole literary world. He tells us that it was not only contradicted by the Epicureans, "but," says he, "I know not how it is, that "every learned man treats it with contempt."ⁱ The sentence quoted some time ago from Plutarch, in which he speaks of the "*fabulous hope of immortality*," shews, that long after many of the *vulgar* heathen had received the Christian religion, "the better informed among them," as Mr. Balfour styles these Philosophers, continued to ridicule what these learned blind men considered the *ables of hell*, and the *ables of heaven* too. How unenviable is that pre-eminence, which consists in the gross abuse, of peculiar talents and opportunities of improvement ! While the Universalists admire them for their errors, and give them the praise of being better informed than the vulgar, who believed in future rewards and punishments, the Spirit of God declares that they "became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart "was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools." By such men it is an honour to be condemned and derided.

While claiming these heathen wise men for the Universalists, Mr. Balfour tells us that "punishment after death in "*Tartarus* was believed by the heathen generally." If this be true, it is an astonishing fact. Concerning the people and their instructors, it may generally be said, "like priest, like people." "A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump." Now although these favourites of Mr. Balfour and the Universalists, often spoke one thing and thought another ;—although it is a notorious fact, that they openly advocated downright lying ; it is far from being certain that the body of the people materially differed from them. Concerning future punishments, Plutarch says, "there are not many that fear these things." The celebrated disciple of Socrates repeatedly and variously declares, that this doctrine of future punishment, "met with little credit among men." According to him, the vulgar among the Heathen, were a sort of Atheistical Mate-

ⁱ Let. 9: 284. 285.

rials, like my opponent. Plato says that "most men seemed to think that the soul was immediately dissolved at death, and that it vanished and was dissipated, like the wind or smoke, or became nothing at all: and that it needed no small persuasion and faith to believe that the soul exists, and has some power and intelligence after the man is dead."^j

The inconsistencies and contradictions found in the writings of these ancient philosophers, are scarcely more palpable than those which are found in their modern brethren. Mr. Balfour and my opponent, at one moment, boast that these wise men reject our fables of hell; and at the next moment, accuse us of borrowing our doctrine of eternal punishment in *Tartarus*, from the false philosophy of the heathen. Their accusations are as groundless as their boasting is shameful. The New Testament uses their words for *devil* and *hell*; and it also uses their words for *God* and *Heaven*: but while Paul declares to them the true nature of that *God* whom they ignorantly worshipped, Peter teaches them the true character of that *Tartarus*, which they blindly derided. The Universalists reject the doctrine of revelation, and boast that these false philosophers did the same! And who are these *better informed* among the heathen, with whom it is such an honour to agree? They were the blind and deaf, always speculating about colours and sounds. They were always talking about divine truth, and yet "changed the truth of God into a lie." According to their own account, a portion of the truth had been conveyed to them, howsoever imperfectly, by tradition: but "they did not like to retain God in their knowledge;" they despised alike, the fears of hell, and the hopes of heaven, and even denied the spirituality and immortality of their own souls. "For this cause God gave them up to vile affections," and "gave them over to a reprobate mind," and to a reprobate life. Indulging without restraint, in the most brutal appetites, they seemed indeed, as if they had no soul to distinguish them from the inferior creation. Let who will glory in symbolizing with such men, the Christian glories in nothing but the cross of Christ, by whom he is crucified to the world, and the world to him.

The heathen generally believed in the transmigration of souls, and in certain periodical conflagrations or annihilations of souls, succeeding each other without end. From

^j *Lel*, 2; 391. 382, 383.

these the Jews have received a sort of Universalism ; and by these, Origen was corrupted. Besides him, my opponent can find no other example in the ancient church. "Simon Magus, Basilides, Carpocrates, and the impure Gnostics, we "do not envy him;"^k as they were, like their brethren of the present day, in the gall of bitterness and the bonds of iniquity. On this doctrine, Clemens Alexandrinus, the preceptor of Origen, was decidedly orthodox ; and so was Cyprian, his great contemporary, whose superiority in piety and usefulness, the Christian world so much admires.

Among the many proofs of their doctrinal soundness, I have numbered the inspired declaration concerning *Tartarus*. It is in 2 Peter, ii. 4. "God spared not the angels that "sinned, but cast them down to *Tartarus*, and delivered "them into chains of darkness, to be reserved unto judgment." The questions suggested by this text, are, 1. What does this threatening mean ? 2. Against whom is it directed ?

(1.) What does this threatening mean ? That it is a threatening, is evident, because the subjects of it are said not to be spared, but cast down, and confined in chains of darkness, *to be punished*, as we are informed in verse 9th. That it reaches beyond this life, as far as men are concerned, appears from their being reserved unto judgment. "It is appointed unto men once to die, but after this the judgment."^l That the judgment will rivet these chains, appears from Jude's calling them, in verse 6th, "*everlasting chains*," and from his placing these prisoners, in verse 7th, with the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrha, who are "suffering the vengeance of *eternal fire*." Peter also, places them in the same company, in verse 6th, of the context. Of these persons it is said in verse 3rd, the immediately preceding context, that their "*judgment now of a long time lingereth not, and their damnation slumbereth not*." These words have already been examined in the original, in what was said on the subject of *Gehenna*. There they were translated *damnation* and *destruction* : and it was proved from the Scriptures, that these are an everlasting *destruction*, and an eternal *damnation*, in an unquenchable fire. As "fools make a mock at sin," so fools will laugh at its punishment : but let it be remembered that this is done only by Mr. Balfour and his heathens, not by the Christian Church : and concerning

^k Lampe, on the Eternity of Punishments, Part 2, Sect. 10.

^l Hebr. ix. 27.

these scorers, God has said, "I also, will laugh at your calamity, I will mock when your fear cometh."

(2.) Against whom is this *Tartarean* punishment threatened? It was against "the angels that sinned." In the 6th head of the first Orthodox argument, I have endeavoured to shew, that the curse has subjected sinners to a real devil, and not a mere personification. That he has angels distinct from the human race, appears from the sentence of condemnation pronounced upon unbelieving men at the day of judgment. "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the *devil* and *his angels*." These angels, mentioned by Peter, my opponent and the improved version, would have to be men: but this cannot be: for Peter, in the context, says that angels "are greater in power and might." They cannot be non entities; for such have neither power nor might. But two things are manifest, from what our Saviour and his inspired Apostle say concerning these angels. One is, that it was on account of sin, that they were cast into *Tartarus*, or this *everlasting fire*. The other is, that the same punishment awaits all impenitent sinners of the human race. In the 9th verse, Peter says, "The Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptation, and to re-serve the *unjust* unto the day of judgment, to be punished." In the 1st, 2d, and 3d verses, he speaks of the preachers and deluded professors of "damnable heresies," as participating in the *judgment* and *damnation* of these angels. In the three following verses, he presents the case of these *intartarated* angels, the case of the antediluvian world, and that of the cities of the plain, as so many examples to warn all sinners against the same condemnation and punishment; letting us know, that "if God spared not" these, he will punish all the "unjust" of our race.

When our Saviour commands the wicked to depart into "everlasting fire," or as he afterward explains it, into "everlasting punishment," his omitting to use the word now in question, may appear to weaken our argument. But when we observe on the one hand that Christ casts wicked men, and the devil, and his angels, all together, into the same fiery and eternal punishment;—and when we observe, on the other hand, that an unsparing God casts these angels down to *Tartarus*;—cannot a moderate reasoner see that the devil and wicked men must be in *Tartarus* too?—*Tartarus*, then, is that everlasting fire which is "prepared for the devil and his angels:"—and *Tartarus* is that place of everlasting

punishment, into which the wicked "shall go away" after the general judgment.

Thus have I endeavoured to shew the scriptural doctrine of *Sheol, Hades, Gehenna, and Tartarus*. I have essayed to prove, what has been proved a thousand times before, that these terms are used by the inspired writers, to denote a state of eternal punishment; and that all those passages in which wicked men or angels are said to be cast into *hell*, are infallible proofs that their punishment is absolutely eternal. In doing this, with a conscience enlightened by the word and Spirit of Christ, and with a heart full of love to your souls, my skirts are clear of your blood. Without attempting to excite unprofitable fears, I have endeavoured, through grace faithfully to warn you, of the wrath which awaits the impenitent and unbelieving. May God enable you to flee to the only Refuge for lost sinners.

II.

THE DURATION OF PUNISHMENT.

The first branch of *affirmative* evidence, which we have just now finished, discusses certain conspicuous words of Holy Writ, which denote *the state of the damned*; and it was shewn that this was an eternal state. The second branch of *affirmative* evidence, on which we are now entering, contemplates such words as *perpetual* and *eternal, never* and *forever*, which mark the *duration* of this punishment, in a still more pointed manner. Concerning Edom, God said, "Thou shalt be cut off *forever*." "They shall call them the border of wickedness, and the people against whom the Lord hath indignation *forever*." "And when he looked on Amalek, he took up his parable, and said, Amalek was the first of the nations, but his latter end shall be, that he perish *forever*." "And he also [the scourge of the Jews] shall perish *forever*." "If thou forsake him, he will cast thee off *forever*." "But the Lord is with me, as a mighty terrible one: therefore my persecutors shall stumble and they shall not prevail: they shall be greatly ashamed; for they shall not prosper: their *everlasting* confusion shall *never* be forgotten." "The Lord hath sworn by the excellency of Jacob, surely I will *never* forget any of their works." "And I will bring an *everlasting* reproach upon you, and a *perpetual* shame, which shall not be forgotten." "When all the workers of iniquity do flourish; it is that they shall be destroyed *forever*." "He put them to a *perpetual* reproach." "Let them be confounded and troubled *forever*; yea, let

"them be put to shame, and perish." "They perish *forever*,
 "without any regarding it." "Thou destroyest the hope of
 "man. Thou prevailest *forever* against him." "He shall go
 "to the generation of his fathers: they shall *never* see light."
 "Thou hast rebuked the heathen, thou hast destroyed the
 "wicked, thou hast put out their name *forever and ever*."
 After death, "he shall go to the generation of his fathers;
 "they shall *never* see light." "God shall likewise destroy
 "thee *forever*." "And many of them that sleep in the dust
 "of the earth shall awake, some to *everlasting* life, and some
 "to shame and *everlasting* contempt." "Who among us shall
 "dwell with *everlasting* burnings?" "The smoke thereof
 "shall go up *forever*." "For ye have kindled a fire in mine
 "anger, which shall burn *forever*." "But he that shall blas-
 "pheme against the Holy Ghost, hath *never* forgiveness, but
 "is in danger of *eternal* damnation." "These are wells
 "without water; clouds that are carried with a tempest; to
 "whom the mist of darkness is reserved *forever*." "Raging
 "waves of the sea, foaming out their own shame; wander-
 "ing stars, to whom is reserved the blackness of darkness
 "*forever*." "And the smoke of their torment ascendeth up
 "*forever and ever*, and they have no rest day nor night, who
 "worship the Beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth
 "the mark of his name." "And again, they said, Alleluia.
 "And her smoke rose up *forever and ever*." "And the Devil
 "that deceived them, was cast into the lake of fire and brim-
 "stone, where the beast and the false prophet are, and shall
 "be tormented, day and night, *forever and ever*:" with an
 "*eternal* judgment, [*condemnation, or punishment.*]" "Even
 "as Sodom and Gomorrha, and the cities about them, in like
 "manner, giving themselves over to fornication, and going
 "after strange flesh, are set forth for an example, suffering
 "the vengeance of *eternal* fire." "Who shall be punished
 "with *everlasting* destruction from the presence of the Lord,
 "and from the glory of his power." "Wherefore, if thy
 "hand or thy foot offend thee, cut them off; for it is better
 "for thee to enter into life halt or maimed, rather than hav-
 "ing two hands or two feet, to be cast into *everlasting* fire."
 "Then shall he say unto them on the left hand, depart from
 "me, ye cursed, into *everlasting* fire, prepared for the devil
 "and his angels." "And these shall go away into *everlasting*
 "punishment, but the righteous into life *eternal*."^m

m Obad. i. 10. Mal. i. 4. Num. xxiv. 20, 24. 1 Chr. xxviii. 9. Jer. xx. 11.
 Am. viii. 7. Jer. xxiii. 40. Job iv. 20. xiv. 20. Ps. xcii. 7. lxxviii. 66. lxxxix. 47.

From all this evidence, which is given in the words of our common translation, the Universalists are in the habit of appealing to the Original Scriptures. Thither we are willing to follow them. But when they are beaten on this ground, and begin to complain of our speaking in an unknown tongue, let it be remembered, who first found fault with our translation; who first appealed to the Hebrew language; and who first prated about an *æonian* punishment.

The above authorities are found in the Old and New Testaments. Of course, they are in different languages; and, (what is not unusual,) the same word is used in our Version, to render a variety of words in the Original. The Hebrew words *Nejeh*, *Od*, and *Olam*, are all interpreted *everlasting*, *perpetual*, *always*, and *forever*: and certain Greek words and phrases, derived from *Aion*, are rendered *everlasting*, *eternal*, *forever*, and *forever and ever*. If it be a fact that the Spirit of God often uses these words and phrases to denote an absolute eternity; and if there be particular reason discovered why they should be so understood, in the above passages relating to the punishment of the wicked; then a good conscience will oblige us to believe, that the wicked are punished to an absolute eternity. For the support of this conclusion, the premises shall, with the help of God, be now established, in the critical examination of the following particulars. 1. *Nejeh*. 2. *Od*. 3. *Olam*. 4. *Aion*. 5. *Eis Aiona*. 6. *Aionios*.ⁿ

1.

NEJEH.

This word often signifies *victory*: as in Hab. i. 4. "Judgment does not go forth *to victory*." Our translators, with Junius and Tremellius, thought this the meaning of it in Is. xxv. 8. "He will swallow up death *in victory*." The Vulgate and Calasio have rendered it *forever*.^o Although Bishop Pearce has, if I recollect rightly, endeavoured to reconcile this with Paul's Greek, in 1 Cor. xv. 54,^p our translators were probably right, as they are generally. Be this as it may, my opponent and others of the same principles, quote

xlix. 19: ix. 5. lii. 5. Dan. xii. 2. Is. xxxiii. 14. xxxiv. 10. Jer. xvii. 4. Mk. iii. 29. 2 Pet. ii. 17. Jude 13. Rev. xiv. 11. xix. 3. xx. 10. Heb. vi. 2. Jude 7. 2 Thess. i. 9. Matt. xviii. 8. xxv. 41, 46.

ⁿ עֵלַם עַד נֶצַח αἰών, εἰς αἰῶνα, αἰώνιος.

^o In sempiternum,

^p εἰς νίκας.

this passage in favour of universal, *eternal* salvation. They have granted this force to the word, in such passages as the following; "He will not *always* chide:" "Neither will I be *always* wroth."^q Those who believe that *the miry places* of Babylon, and the *marshes thereof, shall not be healed*, will allow this word the same force, where Isaiah says that "it shall *never* be inhabited;" and Jeremiah says that "it shall be no more inhabited *forever*." In denouncing a similar curse upon Idumea, Isaiah doubles the word, "None shall pass through it *forever and ever*."^r This appears to be its meaning in Ps. xlix. 9, where it is said of the rich voluptuaries of this world, that "none of them can by any means redeem his brother, nor give to God a ransom for him:" "that he should still live *forever*."

The 19th verse of this Psalm is one of the authorities quoted above for eternal punishment. After this wealthy worldling dies, it is said that "he shall go to the generation of his fathers; they shall *never* see light." If the generation of his fathers felt toward him, as the rich sensualist in the gospel felt toward his five brethren, they did not wish him to come into their place of torment. As it was declared that they never should enjoy the light of life, the pains of the second death would be aggravated by the company of a guilty descendant, to whose ruin they were accessary.

In another passage adduced, it is said concerning impious oppressors, "The Lord hath sworn by the excellency of Jacob, surely I will *never* forget any of their works." When God says of the penitent, "I will be merciful to their unrighteousness, and their sins and their iniquities will I remember no more," every Universalist sees that this is a promise of eternal forgiveness. When he says, "The needy shall not *always* be forgotten," every one understands this to be a promise of *eternal* salvation. But if a promise that God's pious poor shall not always be forgotten, secures their eternal happiness, is it difficult to see that eternal misery awaits those sinners, concerning whom the excellency of Jacob swears by himself, "Surely I will *never* forget any of their works?" The duration of the blessing in the one case, and of the curse in the other, is marked by the same word.^s

In a third authority advanced, the Psalmist threatens the

^q Ps. ciii. 9. Is. lvii. 16. The references are always to the English Bible.

^r לִנְצַח נִצְחִים Is. xxxiv. 10. xlii. 20. Jer. l. 39. Comp. Ez. xlvii. 11.

^s Amos viii. 7. Ps. ix. 18. Comp. Heb. viii. 12. Gen. xxvii. 45.

deceitful, lying, mischievous tongue, "God shall likewise destroy thee *for ever*." If, as the apostle James tells us, this tongue "is set on fire of *hell*," then it must be destroyed for ever: for hell is a place of everlasting destruction, as was shewn under the word *Gehenna*. A few evidences, that the same doctrine of the destruction of the wicked, is contained in the Old Testament, which was there asserted from the New, will close this article.

Universalists and other pretenders to religion, are prone to indulge delusive hopes of escaping this destruction: but God says, "the hypocrite's hope shall *perish*, or *be destroyed*."^t They expect always to fly to their refuges of lies; but the time is coming when, as God says, "flight shall *perish* from them."^v They would vainly persuade themselves that they have no other *destruction* to fear, but that which precedes death;^w and that, after death, their hopes shall be fulfilled. But Solomon says, "When a wicked man dieth, his expectations shall *perish*, or *be destroyed*: and the hope of unjust men *perisheth*, or *is destroyed*."^x It was not said of Amalek that he should sustain a temporal destruction in the prime of life; but "his *latter end* shall be, that he *perish* forever."^z This destruction is never said in scripture to be sent in love for the sanctification of the subject; but "by the blast of God they *perish*, or *are destroyed*, and by the breath of his nostrils are they consumed." "The wicked shall *perish*, or *be destroyed*, and the enemies of the Lord shall be as the fat of lambs: they shall consume; into smoke shall they consume away." "As smoke is driven away, so drive them away: as wax melteth before the fire, so let the wicked *perish*, or *be destroyed*, at the presence of God."^a Concerning the worshippers of the Pope, that irreconcilable enemy of Christ and his word, Daniel says, "I beheld, eventill the Beast was slain, and his body *destroyed*, and given to the burning flame."^b

The above passages do not expressly declare that this destruction is in *Sheol* or *Gehenna*, or the bottomless pit; but other Scriptures do. It will be recollected that under the

^t Ps. lii. 5.

^v Job viii. 13.

^w Job xi. 20. Marginal reading. Calasio; "Refugium peribit ab eis."

^x See Job xxviii. 23.

^z Job xi. 7.

^a Num. xxiv. 20.

^b Job iv. 9. Ps. xxxvii. 20. lxxviii. 2.

^b Dan. vii. 11.

first branch of this argument, the *destruction*, which, in the New Testament, is called *Apoleia*, (from which the name of *Apollyon* is derived,) was shewn to take place in *Gehenna*, which was a place of punishment by fire after death. The destruction mentioned above, is by a burning flame, after the subject of it is slain. The Hebrew for *destroy*, in the above texts, is *abad*,^c and for *destruction*, *Abadun*. Calasio very justly observes that in Job xxvi. 6, this *Abadun* is used "for the thing destroyed, *pro reperdita*." "*Sheol* is naked before him, and *Abadun* hath no covering." Who this *Abadun*, this son of destruction is, the Apostle John tells us. After describing a destructive army, he says, "And they had a King over them, which is the angel of the bottomless pit, whose name in the Hebrew tongue, is *Abaddon*, but in the Greek tongue, hath his name *Apollyon*." That this destruction is in hell, with fallen angels, appears farther from the case of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. When "they perished or were destroyed from among the congregation," it was by going down "into *Sheol*," or "into *Hades*," as the Septuagint has it.^d This was done by the just judgment of an angry God: for Solomon says, "*Sheol* and *Abadun*, [or (70) *Huides* and *Apoleia*] are before the Lord." When sinners repent and believe in the Saviour, God's law and justice are *satisfied* through his atonement. Their light afflictions would then be temporal. But if they do not repent, their sufferings must be eternal; for God has said that "*Sheol* and *Abadun* are never satisfied."^e The road which leads to destruction is said in Scripture, to be a broad way.^f The Psalmist uses the word *way*, as a figure for the ungodly multitudes who walk in this way of perdition. In this sense, he says, "the way of the ungodly shall *perish* or *be destroyed*."^g In the use of the word *nejeh*, which is now under discussion, Job says, "They *perish forever*, without any regarding it."^h

2.

OD.

Concerning the God of Israel, David says to Solomon, "If thou forsake him, he will cast thee off *forever*." The same word occurs in the declaration that Amalek and other enemies of the church "shall *perish forever*." The Psalmist

^c This holds in all except the last, Dan. vii. 21, which Daniel wrote in Chaldee; and where the word is *eubed*, only a dialectical variation.

^d Num. xvi. 33.

^e Prov. xxvii. 20.

^f Matt. vii. 13.

^g Ps. i.

^h Job iv. 20.

says, "When the wicked spring as the grass, and when all the workers of iniquity do flourish; it is that they shall be destroyed *forever*." "Let them be confounded and troubled *forever*; yea let them be put to shame and perish."ⁱ

It is freely admitted that this word does not always connote *eternal* duration: but that it is used familiarly for this purpose, is evident from its frequent connexion with the existence, glory, and perfections of God; and with the happiness of the saints: and that it has this signification, in the passages just now quoted, appears from its connexion with that *destruction*, which is absolutely eternal.

Concerning God, it is said, "His righteousness endureth *forever*." "His praise endureth *forever*." "Thus saith the High and Lofty One, that inhabiteth *eternity*." Towards his people, it is said, that "He retaineth not his anger *forever*." Therefore they shall love and enjoy him for ever. This is proved by the following and similar texts: "The fear of the Lord is clean, enduring *forever*." Concerning the heavenly Canaan, it is said, "The righteous shall inherit the land, and dwell therein *for ever*." "Your heart shall live *for ever*." "Thou hast made him most blessed *for ever*." "So will I sing praise unto thy name *for ever*." "His seed also will I make to endure *for ever*." "His righteousness endureth *for ever*." "The lip of truth shall be established *for ever*." "Trust ye in the Lord *for ever*."

The most of those passages in which *Od* is connected with *Olam*, I shall postpone to the next head, in which *Olam* may be particularly considered. Only one of them claims attention at this time. It is that in which God says to Israel, "Ye shall not be ashamed nor confounded *world without end*." The original is, "*od oulami od*." As *od* sometimes signifies an indefinite, and sometimes an infinite futurity, I would render this passage literally, as follows: "Ye shall not be ashamed nor confounded *to the eternities of futurity*, or, *to the eternities of infinite duration*."

Concerning this phrase, my opponent speaks in the following manner, viz. "I now again repeat, that if my opponent can shew, that the expression, *od oulami od*, which I am willing to admit may signify an absolute eternity, is any where in the sacred volume, used in connexion with punishment, misery or death, then he has the argument; and if not, it is evident, that what I said yesterday, still stands

ⁱ 1 Chr. xxviii. 9. Num. xxiv. 20, 24. Ps. xcii. 7, lxxxiii. 17. In the 2nd and 3rd of these texts, the plural *לְעוֹלָם* is used.

"sure, and we may fairly conclude that he cannot do it."j This declaration is here introduced, because it contains a concession, that the phrase in question signifies *an absolute eternity*: otherwise, how could I gain the argument by shewing it in connexion with punishment? Now if these words together, signify *an absolute eternity*, at least one of them alone, must have this meaning, independently of its relation to the other. *An absolute eternity* cannot be formed, by any possible addition or multiplication of limited periods. If *oulam* mean *a limited time*, and if *od* mean nothing more than this, then, *oulami od* would mean, *the times of limitation*. But this would contradict my opponent, who says that this expression signifies *an absolute eternity*. Himself, therefore, being judge, one of them must have this signification. Which will he choose? He has told us. After pretending to weigh his translation and mine, he says, "In neither way does it imply that **עולם** *oulam*, of itself, means *an absolute eternity*."^k He teaches us that *oulami* signifies *limited ages*. Unless therefore *od* signifies *eternity*, this expression will signify nothing more than *ages of limitation*. To make out his point, my opponent must hold that *od* is *eternity*. He would then translate the passage, "Ye shall not be ashamed nor confounded to the *ages of eternity*." But if this be true, where are those, concerning whom the Psalmist says, "Let them be confounded and troubled to **OD**, to *eternity*?" All those authorities which are quoted in the commencement of this article, will, according to this interpretation, consign unbelievers to *an absolute eternity* of suffering.

3.

OLAM.

This word occurs in the singular and the plural numbers, and in different forms. In the singular, it is *olam*, *oulam*, and *oulam*. In the plural, it is *oulamim*; unless when in government, as in the example given in the last article: in which case it is *oulami*. Why it should signify *eternity*, when used in any form, or in either number, I may not be able to tell. It should suffice, for me to prove the fact. Many authorities have been given, in which this word is connected with the punishment of the wicked. If, therefore, it can be shewn that this word signifies an *eternal* duration, the wicked must be punished for ever.

j Minutes p. 163.

k Minutes p. 175.

As the instance cited under the last head, presents this word in the plural number, I shall mention other examples in which it is found in the plural, unconnected with *od*. If we examine the whole of the 61st Psalm, we shall find that David points to an eternal residence with God, (comp. verse 7,) when he says, in verse 4, "I will abide in thy tabernacle OULAMIM, *for ever*." In an address to Jehovah, the same writer says, "Thy kingdom is a kingdom of KAL OLAMIM, *all eternities*."¹ Did, or did not the Psalmist mean, that the kingdom of Jehovah was *absolutely eternal*? It has already been noticed that Dan. ix. 24, is urged by my opponent and other Universalists, in favour of their system. It is there said, that the Messiah shall "make an end of sins," and "bring in *everlasting* righteousness." This, they think, establishes the doctrine, that sin is temporal, but righteousness *absolutely eternal*. But let it be remembered that the word for *everlasting* in this text, is *olamim*. Does this mean less than eternal?

In Isa. xlv. 17, where this word governs *od*, it is found in the former part of the verse, without that connexion. On this my opponent speaks as follows, viz. "The passage referred to reads thus; 'But Israel shall be saved in the "Lord, with an (oulamim) *everlasting* salvation.' In this "former part of the verse, there is no difference between me "and my opponent, we are perfectly agreed with respect to "their *everlasting* salvation; it is in the latter clause only, "that there is any collision between us. 'Ye shall not be "ashamed nor confounded (od oulami od) *world without* "end,'"^m It will be recollected that these are the words of my Universalist opponent, stating wherein we agree, and wherein we disagree, concerning the same text. Our disagreement is on the meaning of *oulami* in the latter clause of the verse. I say that it signifies an absolute eternity. He denies that this word, "of itself, means an absolute eternity."ⁿ This is the "collision" of which he speaks. Now, what is the subject, in which he says we are "perfectly agreed?" It is concerning this same word *oulamim*, with the same application, and in the same verse, but only in the former part of the verse. I say that it means *absolutely eternal*, and so does he; for otherwise, we could not be "*perfectly* agreed." In both cases it is predicated of the salvation of the saints. I say that

¹ Ps. cxlv. 13.

^m Minutes, p. 162.

ⁿ Minutes, p. 175.

both cases, it has the same meaning. He thinks that there is an infinite difference in its meaning ; as, in one instance, it signifies an eternal, and in the other a temporary duration !! Let him shew a reason for this difference, and it shall have its weight : but let him not expect that you will give the name of criticism, to an empty assertion, not only without evidence, but contrary to all sober rules of interpretation.

But you will ask, how it comes to pass, that he disputes the force of these words in the latter clause of this verse, within a few breaths of a concession, that they " may signify an absolute eternity ;" and an admission, that the same expression, in connexion with punishment, would prove its eternity. That he has thus contradicted himself, is certain : and as I have made use of his admission of the truth, I am willing to examine his reasoning against it. It rests upon a counterfeit translation of the passage, coined for the occasion. He says that *od oulami od*, should be rendered, *to the age and farther*. By this he proves that there is duration, farther than *the age*, or beyond *oulami*, and of course, *oulami* cannot mean *eternity*. When I reminded him that there was no *and* in the original, nor even in the Septuagint ; and that the insertion of this conjunction, in such a translation as his, was a perversion ; he maintained its correctness, and quoted Dan. xii. 3, to prove it. " And they that be wise, shall shine as the brightness of the firmament : and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever AND ever ; to OULAM and OD." To give a more complete refutation of my assertion, he shews that the Septuagint of this same passage in Daniel, has the conjunction *and*. It reads, " EIS TON AIONA KAI ETI, *to the age and longer*," as he would render it. He attributes the very same meaning to Isa. xlv. 17, "*heos tou aionos eti*," which he renders in Latin, "*in æternum amplius*."

As this is an Universalist method of reasoning, I wish it to be well understood. I have said that there is no *and*, either in the original or the Septuagint of Isa. xlv. 17, and that the insertion of this conjunction in such a translation as his, is a perversion of the scriptures. Here we are directly at issue : and as he takes the affirmative, he produces the evidence. After hearing him speak so often of my ignorance of the languages, (a fault which I freely confess,) you perhaps tremble for my fate, when you see him open the Hebrew and Greek scriptures. You expect to hear him read, forthwith, in Isa. xlv. 17, and shew, to my confusion, that it contains a conjunction. Instead of this he turns to Dan. xii. 3. Here we find

L I.

a conjunction in the Hebrew, Greek and English. Wherefore, my opponent triumphantly concludes that he has a right to insert this word in Isa. xlv. 17, where it is not found. But lest this reasoning should not appear conclusive, even to his own followers, he reads the Septuagint of Isaiah, in the very text itself. This is coming nearer home; and you expect an English translation with the word *and* in it. Instead of this he gives it to you in Latin; "in ætænum amplius." I suppose he thought that those Universalists who, like myself, were ignorant of the languages, would think this translation *amply* furnished with conjunctions.

When my opponent renders OD OULAMI OD, by the words, *to the age and farther*, he knows, as well as I do, that *oulami* is in the plural number, and that a literal translation, which he affects to make, would give it a plural rendering. He knows also, that if there were a conjunction between these words, the first of them would be written *oulamim* instead of *oulami*. The dropping of the last letter, shews that this word governs the one which follows it. In Western languages, government is usually marked by the word governed: in the Eastern, by a change in the word which governs. *Oulami* has in itself, the force of a genitive, the sign of which, in our language, is *of*, and not *and*. If therefore, this word mean *ages*, and if *od* mean *farther*, the literal rendering of this expression would be, *to the ages of farther*!!

The reason why the Septuagint have not marked this government in the usual way, is, not that they differed from our translators, in their understanding of the passage, but because they used the little indeclinable word *eti*, which is frequently used to translate *od*, and which, like *od*, usually signifies *indefinite* or *infinite duration*; generally future, but sometimes past. Job says, "Knowest thou not this *of old*?" The Hebrew here for *of old*, is *meni od*. Symmachus renders it, Αἰῶνος. But Trommius informs us, that various Greek interpreters render it *apo tou eti*. This shews that *eti* is considered a proper translation of *od*, when it means duration past or future, limited or unlimited. But take notice that *eti*, though indeclinable, is here treated as a noun in the genitive case; ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΕΤΙ, *of old*. Take this example to the Septuagint of Isa. xlv. 17, and you can easily find why it did not insert a conjunction. "*Heos tou aionos eti*," is literally translated, "*to the eternity of futurity*." Except in its changing the number of the governing noun, as our translators have

o Job xx. 4.

done, and as my opponent has done, it is a perfectly literal rendering of the original, "*to the eternities of futurity.*"

I need not consume your time in quoting evidence that *eti* denotes an indefinite futurity.^p More than this will be done, if it can be shewn that it signifies *an endless futurity*. Solomon says, "The king that faithfully judgeth the poor, his throne shall be established *for ever.*"^q That this *for ever*, means *an endless futurity*, should be admitted by my opponent, since he believes that the thrones promised to the apostles, are to endure for ever. To all believers, God has promised "a kingdom which cannot be moved," an *incorruptible crown*, "a crown of glory that fadeth not away."^r This eternal, heavenly reward, therefore, is that throne, which, according to the proverb just quoted, "shall be established *for ever.*" This *ever* is *od* in the Hebrew. Trommius informs us, that various Greek interpreters render the phrase, "ΕΙΣ ΑΙΩΝΑ, *to eternity.*" Symmachus renders it, "ΕΙΣ ΑΙΕΙ, *to always.*" Aquila renders it, "ΕΙΣ ΕΤΙ, *to endless duration.*" for what less can *eti* mean here?

In the New Testament one single verse contains this word four times, in such a connexion, that even *Semi-Universalists*, who deny the faithfulness of God in the execution of his threats; and *Cripto-Socinians*, who deny Christ's vicarious satisfaction; are forward in declaring, that it affords irrefragable evidence of the absolute eternity of the sinner's punishment, as it certainly does of the saints' happiness. At the close of time, when nothing but eternity remains, the Holy Spirit says, "He that is unjust, let him be unjust *still*: and he that is filthy, let him be filthy *still*: and he that is righteous, let him be righteous *still*: and he that is holy, let him be holy *still.*" In these four cases, the word *still*, renders the Greek word *eti*: and as it removes all limits from the continuance of the saints' holiness, and consequent happiness; so it does from the sinner's corruption and punishment.

The meaning of *eti* being thus established, it is not at all alarming to find it connected with *oulam* by a conjunction, as in the passage cited by my opponent from the Septuagint of Daniel. The conjunction *kai* is found in the Greek; because *vau* is found in the Hebrew; and *eti* is found in the Greek, because *od* is in the Hebrew. *Oulam* and *od* are justly rendered "*eis ton aiona kai eti,*" by the Seventy, and "*for*

^p In iv. 35. vii. 33. xii. 35. xiv. 19. xvi. 12. Heb. x. 37. Rev. vi. 11.

^q Prov. xxix. 14.

^r Matt. xix. 28. Heb. xii. 28. 1 Cor. ix. 25. 1 Pet. v. 4. Luke xix. 17. Rev. i. 6.

ever and ever," by our translators. Neither is there any *real* discrepance between this passage of the Septuagint, and the original of Isa. xlv. 17. In Isaiah, *oulami* governs *od*, and therefore their literal rendering is, "*eternities of futurity, or eternities of endless duration.*" But if the Septuagint had inserted a conjunction, and rendered it, "*eis ton aion kai eti,*" this, to a man acquainted with the language, would have conveyed the same sense, and required the same English translation. It is a rule which often holds good, that, "When one substantive is joined to another by a copulative, the one must be translated as governing the other." This rule is quoted from an authority which the Universalists cannot resist. It is the celebrated Dr. M'Knight. As this great critic was a renegado Presbyterian, with more learning than piety, and more zeal for his own honour, than for the Ark of God, he must of course, be a favourite with Mr. Balfour, and be classed with Dr. Campbell, among the very best of men. In the 19th section of his 4th Essay, Preliminary to his translation of the Apostolical Epistles, he has shewn that the above rule marks a feature of the Hebrew, Greek and Latin idioms. If this be correct, then, instead of inserting a conjunction, between Isaiah's two nouns which are in government, we shall be obliged to explain Daniel's conjunction, as if his two nouns were in government. His "*oulam and od,*" or his "*eis ton aion kai eti,*" will then read, "*to the eternity of endless duration,*" or which is the same thing, "*world without end.*"

It is evident that Dan. xii. 3, is a parallel to Isa. xlv. 17. In this light I consider it, and in this light my opponent has quoted it. His adducing it as a parallel, has one aspect which he is far from wishing it to have. Let it be marked that he has repeatedly challenged me to shew a parallel expression connected with punishment. In one of these banners, the following are his words, viz. "I challenged him to shew me a passage where the same phrase is used with reference to punishment, as is used in Isa. xlv. 17, and which is rendered in the common version, *world without end*, and is there connected with, and brought to prove ETERNAL SALVATION! I again repeat this challenge! If he does, or can shew it, he has the argument; and if not, the argument must be mine."^s Now why did my opponent endeavour to force into Isaiah's text, the conjunction which is found in Daniel's only? It was on this ground and this alone, that

^s Minutes, p. 176.

the "*oulam* and *od*," in Daniel, was precisely equivalent to the *oulumi od*, in Isaiah. If he did not mean this, then he spoke without meaning, and he should retract his reasoning, as perfectly nugatory. But I have admitted and proved, that the two expressions are equivalent, both in the Hebrew and the Greek. If therefore, either expression can be shewn in connexion with punishment, his own demands are complied with. During the dinner interval of the discussion to-day, a friend informed me, that even these unfair, restricted, and peurile conditions could be complied with. *Oulam* and *od*, precisely as they are found in Daniel, and of course, as substantially found in Isaiah, you will see connected with punishment, in Ps. ix. 5. "Thou hast rebuked the heathen, thou hast destroyed the wicked, thou hast put out their name *for ever and ever*, or, *to the eternity of endless duration*, or *world without end*." When my opponent thought that it would answer his purpose, he assumed the identity of this expression with that in Isaiah: but now he can discover a very important difference, in the original and even in our translation. I know not how to reply to this tergiversation, better than in the words addressed to me by an amiable and pious brother. "I was happy to observe," said he, "that you had compelled your adversary to rest his scheme on the difference between the Hebrew phrase rendered, *world without end*, and that translated, *for ever and ever*. May all erroneous systems be made to hang as publicly upon *an airy nothing*."

Another subterfuge equally claims our admiration. He informs us that even if their names are blotted out forever, yet their persons may be saved, and have a "new name" given them. But if a man's old name may be blotted out, and his person saved, may not a new name be given to him, and his person lost? And remember that the text not only speaks of the eternal blasting of their name, but of the eternal perdition of their persons. "Thou hast *destroyed the wicked*, thou hast put out out their name *forever and ever*."

But my opponent's most formidable embankment against this inspired artillery, is a denial that this text relates to futurity at all. His words are as follows, viz. "David was speaking of an event that was then past, and which has no reference to a future state of existence." The only excuse for this wresting of the word of God, is, that all the

verbs in the text, are in the past tense. But as most of the prophecies are written in the same way, this mode of interpretation would make an entire revolution in all our views, Universalist as well as Orthodox. Let us take a single Universalist text, and try it by this rule. "And every creature which is in Heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them, heard I saying, blessing, and honour, and glory and power, be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever."^u The verb in this prophecy is in the past tense. Has it therefore no reference to futurity? My opponent has quoted it as referring to eternal futurity. It was future to the writer; though, as the context will shew, it has already been fulfilled.

But if David's words be thus interpreted, in order to favour the wicked, some of his expressions of hope for his own salvation, must be explained away. Of himself, he says, "He asked life of thee, and thou gavest it him, even length of days, forever and ever."^v *Oulam* and *od* are used here in connexion with life; and if this be not eternal life, I doubt whether it can be found in the Scriptures. Yet the promise is conveyed by verbs in the past tense.

Under the preceding head, the most of those passages in which *oulam* and *od* occur together, were postponed to this article. In addition to those which have already been quoted, the following will shew that if these words do not signify absolute eternity, there is no eternity recognized in the Bible. "We will walk in the name of the Lord our God for ever and ever." "I trust in the mercy of God for ever and ever." "I will bless thy name for ever and ever." "I will praise thy name for ever and ever." "Therefore shall the people praise thee for ever and ever." "For this God is our God forever and ever." The works of God "stand fast for ever and ever." "The Lord is King forever and ever." "The Lord shall reign forever and ever." Now if the faith and holiness, obedience, happiness, and glory of the saints; and if the sovereignty of Jehovah, be eternal, then *oulam* and *od* signify eternal: for it is evident that the duration, and the utmost duration of these things was here intended.

But it is not only in connexion with *od* that *oulam* has this signification. When standing alone, it sometimes signifies

^u Rev. v. 13.

^v Ps. xxi; 4.

^w Isa. lxiii; 16. Ps. xciii; 2. xxv; 5.

aternity past, and sometimes eternity to come. In the former sense, Isaiah says to Jehovah, "Thy name is from *everlasting*." The Psalmist says, "Thou art from *everlasting*." "Remember O Lord! thy tender mercies and thy loving kindnesses; for they have been *ever of old*."

The same word is often used to signify eternity past, and repeated in the same sentence to mean future eternity. "From *everlasting* to *everlasting*, thou art God." "The mercy of God is from *everlasting* to *everlasting*, upon them that fear him." "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, from *everlasting* to *everlasting*." "Blessed be thou, the Lord God of Israel, our Father, from *everlasting* to *everlasting*." These expressions are frequently repeated.^x In the first and last of these examples, the Septuagint reads "*apo tou aionos kai heos tou aionos*." In the second of them the Vulgate reads, "*ab æterno et usque in æternum*." In the two last it reads "*ab æterno in æternum*," and "*ab æterno usque in æternum*." All these agree perfectly with our translation, and with the Orthodox view of the word *oulam*.

As this word occurs in most of the texts belonging to this branch of *affirmative* evidence; and as my opponent has denied that it signifies an *absolute eternity*; it is suitable to produce a goodly portion, of that abundant evidence which the Scriptures contain on this subject. *Oulam*, when standing alone, is one of the most usual words, whereby the Spirit of God conveys the doctrine of the *absolute eternity* of the saints' happiness. Of such it is said, "He that doeth these things shall *never* be moved." "He shall *never* suffer the righteous to be moved." "Surely he shall not be moved *forever*." "The righteous shall *never* be moved."^y "And the work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance *forever*." "As for me, thou upholdest me in mine integrity, and settest me before thy face *forever*." "He shall abide before God *forever*." "Depart from evil, and do good, and dwell *for evermore*. For the Lord loveth judgment, and forsaketh not his saints; they are preserved *forever*." "The Lord shall preserve thy going out and thy coming in, from this time forth, and even *for evermore*." "The Lord is round about his people, from henceforth, even *for ever*." "For thy people Israel, didst thou make thine own people *forever*." "Let Israel hope in

^x Ps. xc; 2. ciii; 17. cvi; 48. xli; 13. 1 Chron. xxix; 10. xvi; 36.

^y As arranged in note x.

2 Ps. xv; 5. lv; 22. cxij; 6. Prov. x; 30.

the Lord from henceforth, and *forever*.”^a “For the Lord will not cast off *for ever*.” “Therefore God hath blessed thee *for ever*.” “Save thy people, and bless thine inheritance: feed them also, and lift them up *forever*.” “In thee O Lord! do I put my trust: let me *never* be put to confusion.” “My flesh and my heart faileth: but God is the strength of my heart, and my portion *forever*.” “The Lord knoweth the days of the upright, and their inheritance shall be *for ever*.”^b “My salvation shall be *for ever*, and my righteousness shall not be abolished.” “I will make thee an *eternal* excellency.” “The Lord commanded the blessing, even life *for evermore*.” “I will glorify thy name *for evermore*.” “I will praise thee *forever*.” “So we thy people and sheep of thy pasture, will give thee thanks *for ever*.” “I will sing of the mercies of the Lord *for ever*.” “We will bless the Lord from this time forth and *for evermore*.” “Let all those that put their trust in thee rejoice: let them *ever* shout for joy, because thou defendest them.” “And the ransomed of the Lord shall return, and come to Zion with songs, and *everlasting* joy upon their heads; they shall obtain joy and gladness, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away.” “Therefore the redeemed of the Lord shall return, and come, with singing unto Zion; and *everlasting* joy shall be upon their head: they shall obtain gladness and joy; and sorrow and mourning shall flee away.” “*Everlasting* joy shall be unto them.”^c

Several of these quotations will be readily recognized, as favourite Universalist texts, to prove the absolute eternity of the happiness of all those, concerning whom these passages speak. Such an interpretation is very reasonable indeed: for the same word, which, in them, communicates the eternity of the saints' happiness, does, in the 7th and 9th verses of the 24th Psalm, prove the eternity of Christ's name and kingdom, and of that heaven, into whose uplifted doors, the divine and eternal Head of the Church has entered. “Lift up your head, Oh ye gates! and be ye lifted up, ye *everlasting* doors! and the King of Glory shall come in.” And now that he is in heaven, “his name shall endure *for ever*,” and his kingdom shall endure, “from henceforth, even *for ever*.”^d

^a Ps. 37; 18. 41; 12. 61; 7. 37; 27, 28. 121; 8. 125; 2. 1 Chr. 17; 22. Ps. 131; 3.

^b Lam. 3; 31. Ps. 45; 2. 28; 9. 71; 1. 73; 26. 37; 18.

^c Isa. 51; 6. 60; 15. Ps. 133; 3. 86; 12. 52; 9. 79; 13. 115; 18. 89; 1. 5; 11. Isa. 35; 10. 51; 11. 61; 7.

^d Ps. 72; 17. Isa. 9; 7.

Those lovers of truth, who have patience to bear a fatiguing dissertation upon an important word, will not probably be averse to my producing evidence that *oulam*, when standing alone, is used with great familiarity by the Holy Spirit, to signify the absolute eternity of the being and blessedness, perfections and purposes of the one uncreated and immortal God.

"For I lift up my hand to Heaven, and say, I live *for ever*." "And I heard the man clothed in linen, which was upon the waters of the river, when he held up his right hand and his left hand unto heaven, and swore by him that liveth *forever*." "The Lord shall endure *forever*." "Thou O Lord shalt endure *forever*." "Thou O Lord! remainest *forever*." "Thou Lord, art Most High, *for evermore*." "And Abraham planted a grove in Beer-sheba, and called there on the name of the Lord, the *everlasting* God." "Hast thou not known? hast thou not heard, that the *everlasting* God, the Lord, the Creator of the ends of the earth, fainteth not, neither is weary?" "This is my name *forever*." "Let it even be established, that thy name may be magnified *for ever*." "Thy name, O Lord! endureth *for ever*." He delivered the children of Israel, "dividing the water before them, to make himself an *everlasting* name." "Let thy name be magnified *for ever*." "And blessed be his glorious name *for ever*." "Blessed be the name of the Lord from this time forth and *for ever more*." "Blessed be the Lord *for ever more*." "For ever, O Lord! thy word is settled in Heaven." "The word of our God, shall stand *for ever*." "The counsel of the Lord standeth *for ever*." "The righteousness of thy testimonies is *everlasting*." "Concerning thy testimonies, I have known of old, that thou hast founded them *for ever*." "Thy word is true, from the beginning; and every one of thy righteous judgments endureth *for ever*." "The Lord shall be unto thee an *everlasting* light." "Thine *everlasting* light." "The glory of the Lord shall endure *for ever*." "I will not contend *for ever*." "Because the Lord loved Israel *for ever*." "I have loved thee with an *everlasting* love." "Underneath are the *everlasting* arms." "He ruleth by his power *for ever*." "Thy righteousness is an *everlasting* righteous-

e Deut. xxxii. 40. Dan. xii. 7. Ps. ix. 7. 102. 12. Lam. v. 19.

f Ps. xcii. 8. Gen. xxi. 33. Isa. xl. 28.

g Ex. iii. 15. 1 Chr. xvii. 24. Ps. cxxxv. 13. Isa. lxiii. 12.

h 2. Sam. vii. 26. Ps. lxxii. 19. cxlii. 2. 89. 52.

i Ps. cxix. 89. Isa. xl. 8. Ps. xxxiii. 11. 119. cxliv. 152. 160.

j. Isa. lx. 19. 20. Ps. civ. 31. Isa. lvii. 16. 1 Kgs. x. 19. Jer. xxxi. 3.

ness." "My righteousness shall be *for ever*. "Which keepeth truth *for ever*." "The truth of the Lord endureth *for ever*." "Thou shalt keep them O Lord! thou shalt preserve them from this generation *for ever*."^k "With *everlasting* kindness, will I have mercy on thee." "O give thanks unto the Lord; for he is good; for his mercy endureth *for ever*." The eternity of God's mercy is declared in very many instances, of which twenty-six occur in one Psalm.^l In addition to the passage lately quoted, pointing out the eternity of God's sovereignty, other Scriptures say, "The Lord sitteth King *for ever*." "The Lord shall reign *for ever*." "He is the living God, and an *everlasting* King." "His kingdom is an *everlasting* kingdom:" "Whose dominion is an *everlasting* dominion." "His dominion is an *everlasting* dominion:" "Whose kingdom is an *everlasting* kingdom."^m

In opposition to this mass of evidence, which might still be enlarged, my opponent would urge that *oulam* is sometimes used for a limited duration. Yes; it is often used in this sense. In Exod. xxi. 6, and elsewhere it signifies the length of a man's life. "He shall serve him *forever*:" that is, until he dies. It sometimes means the duration of a dispensation; as in Ex. xxvii. 21, "It shall be a statute *for ever*." Or Ex. xl. 15, "Their anointing shall surely be an *everlasting* priesthood." It sometimes signifies the duration of the earth: as Habb. iii. 6. "The *everlasting* mountains were scattered, the *perpetual* hills did bow." Or Eccles. i. 4. "One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh, but the earth abideth *for ever*." But because this word is sometimes limited to the Jewish dispensation, to the life of man on earth, or to the duration of the earth itself, shall we limit it, when connected with God's being or dominion, his truth or justice, his love or mercy? Universalists themselves often give it an unlimited sense, when the *everlasting* joy of the saints is mentioned. For this they have good reason: but, with divine assistance, we shall shew that there is as good reason, for giving it an unlimited sense, when the *everlasting* punishment of the wicked is affirmed.

One of the strongest authorities which can be found, in proof of the *eternal* happiness of the saints, is Dan. xii. 2. But this passage uses the same word *oulam*, in the same sentence, to declare also, the *eternal* misery of the wicked.

^k Deut. xxx. 27. Ps. lxxvi. 7. exix. 142. Isa. li. 8. Ps. cxlvi. 6. cxvii. 2. xii. 7.

^l Isa. liv. 8. 1 Chr. xvi. 34, 41. 2 Chr. v. 13. vii. 3, 6. xx. 21. Ezra iii. 11. Ps. lxxxix. 2. 28. c. 5. cvi. 1. cvii. 1. cxviii. 4. 29. cxxxviii. 8. Jer. xxxiii. 11. Ps. cxxxvi. 1-26.

^m Ps. xxix. 10. cxlvi. 10. Jer. x. 10. Dan. iv. 3, 34. vii. 14. 27.

"And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to *everlasting* life, and some to shame and *everlasting* contempt." This text speaks of the general resurrection. Now, is not that life which men enjoy after that event, *absolutely eternal*? If so, then the punishment of the wicked is *absolutely eternal*: for the duration of both is expressed by the same word, without any reason for giving it a different explanation. In both instances, all limited significations are excluded by the *exigency of the case*. In this place, *oulam*, cannot signify the duration of a man's mortal life; because all mortal lives have already expired;—it cannot mean the Jewish, or any other earthly dispensation; because all are then abrogated;—neither can it denote the duration of the earth's existence: for this resurrection takes place, after time, with all its divisions, shall have been buried in "the wreck of matter, and the crush of worlds." "Yet once more, I shake not the earth only, but also heaven." "And this word, yet once more, signifieth the removing of those things which are shaken, as of things that are made, that those things which cannot be shaken may remain."^a

If this text relate to the general resurrection, which even Manasseh Ben Israel, a Jewish writer, admits,^o then my opponent sees that the argument drawn from it, in behalf of future rewards and punishments, is unanswerable. He therefore denies its application to that important event. He denies that it speaks of all mankind awaking from their long sleep, but only a part. It does not say, "all of them that sleep," but "*many* of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake." In this restricted explanation of the word *many*, he considers himself supported by the Septuagint, which gives the word *polloi*, without the article. He insists upon it, that *polloi*, without the article, never signifies the whole human race; whereas, with the article, it does necessarily signify *all men universally*. This latter position he took long ago, in his comment on Romans, vth. On the same chapter, Dr. Chauncey took the same ground. His great antagonist duly exposed him. If this criticism be true, then Paul has pronounced *all men* false teachers: for he says, "We are not as *many*, HOI POLLOI, which corrupt the word of God." Besides this passage, Edwards refers to every one in the New Testament, in which *polus*, in the plural, is used with the article; and declares, "that in no one of them is a strict

^a Heb. xii. 26, 27.

^o See Poole's Annotations on the place.

universality clearly intended.”^p He might have added, that classical usage coincides with that of the New Testament. Instances are accessible, in which Socrates, Plato, and Plutarch, used *hoi polloi*, to signify only the generality of their contemporaries and predecessors, with whose opinions they were acquainted.^q

But it is rather gratifying than alarming, that my opponent has at last discovered that *polloi*, even without the article, does not embrace the whole human family. While he does this, hoping to deprive me of one authority, he is not perhaps aware, that he is entirely relinquishing many of his own favourite texts. Every one knows the Universalist explanation of Heb. ii. 9, 10. In the last of these verses, Christ is represented as “bringing *many* sons unto glory.” Here is no article in the Greek; and of course, according to my opponent’s criticism, these *many* sons whom the Saviour brings to glory, are only a part of mankind. This is plain truth. When Christ’s blood is said to be “shed for *many*,” and when he is said to “give his life a ransom for *many*,” and “to bear the sins of *many*,” (expressions often occurring,) my opponent formerly said, that he was thus held forth as the Saviour of all universally. But now he must give up these texts, for in all of them, the *many* is without the article, and must, of course, mean only a part of mankind. The Universalists claim in support of their doctrine, the promise quoted in Rom. iv. 17. “I have made thee a father of *many* nations.” But this also, they must give up, both here, and in the Septuagint of Gen. xvii. 5, in both of which places the *many* is without the article. Isaiah says, “By his knowledge shall my righteous Servant justify *many*,” “and he bare the sins of *many*.”^s These passages, my opponent has quoted in favour of universal salvation. Yet that Septuagint, to which he has appealed in Dan. xii. 2, has no article in either of these places. The 10th verse of this same xiith chapter of Daniel, affords another instance, in which, *many*, without the article, cannot mean *all men*. It says, “*Many* shall be purified and made white, and tried.” Now, that *all* shall not be purified, is evident from the whole Bible, and even from the latter part of this same verse; which says, “but the

^p Edwards against Chauncey, pp. 161, 162. Matt. xxiv. 12. Acts xxvi. 24. Rom. xii. 5. xv. 22. 1 Cor. x. 17, 33. 2 Cor. ii. 17. Rev. xvii. 1.

^q Leland’s Advantage and Necessity, vol. 2, pp. 129, 313. 391.

^r Mk. xiv. 24. x. 45, Matt. xx. 28. xxvi. 28. Heb. ix. 8.

^s Isa. liii. 11, 12.

"wicked shall do wickedly; and none of the wicked shall understand; but the wise shall understand."

The success of my opponent in limiting the anarthrous *polloi* to a part of mankind, is calculated to remind one of the battle in which Pyrrhus beat the Romans. After viewing the shattered remains of his army, he observed that one more such victory would ruin him. It is evident, that by his criticism on one text, he has criticised himself out of nearly a dozen of his chief reliances. And what has he gained in return? Has he proved that the text in question does not relate to the resurrection? This is far from being a legitimate consequence of his premises. The word *many* may signify a part, and yet it may be said of that part, that they shall rise again. This is not unsupported theory; it is based upon inspired authority. Concerning the new-born Saviour, Simeon says, "Behold this Child is set for the fall and *rising again* of *many* in Israel." Here the word *many* is without the article, and the text limits its application. Yet in the original, it is governed by the word signifying *resurrection*.^t Upon a comparison of Isa. viii. 14, to which this alludes, with Rom. ix. 32, 33, where the Prophet is quoted and expounded, it will be found that this *rising again*, mentioned by Simeon, embraces the *regeneration* of the soul, and the *resurrection* of the body, both of which belong to that salvation which Christ came to communicate to *many*. But while he is a savour of life to some, he is a savour of death to others. While he is set for the rising again of *many*, he is set for the *fall* of *many*. And the texts just now referred to, with other scriptures, will shew, that these two *manies*, are entirely distinct from each other; quite as distinct as the sheep and the goats. The passage is, like that in Daniel, evidently elliptical. The meaning of it is plainly this; that *many* Jews would aggravate their condemnation by rejecting Christ; and *many* Jews should be saved through faith in his blood. In the original and the Septuagint of Daniel, these two classes are distributed, by words corresponding with the English *these* and *those*.^u The meaning of the passage is, that, *many* of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake to everlasting life, and *many* of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake to shame and everlasting contempt. Mk. x. 31, is another example of an elliptical sentence, in

^t ἀναστῆναι πολλῶν. Luke ii. 34.

^u ἡ ἑκείνη ὅσων.

which *polloi* occurs once, without the article; yet is evidently intended to mark two classes, in each of which, there are *many* individuals. The literal translation is, "But *many* shall be first last: and the last first." Here one *many* is expressed, but a second *many* is evidently implied. The meaning therefore is, that *many* who are first shall be last, and *many* who are last shall be first. The conclusion of the matter is, that my opponent's criticism has cost him much, and gained him nothing. It still holds good, that Dan. xii. 2, consigns some to *everlasting* punishment, after all the limited periods of time have expired, and nothing but *absolute eternity* remains.

All those doctrinal parallels which relate to the resurrection, confirm the doctrine which is here taught. And let it be recollected that both parties agree in the propriety of resorting to such evidence. Mr. Balfour says "that whatever difficulty there may be in explaining the peculiar phraseology of this passage, it is an allowed rule of interpretation, that an obscure passage ought to be explained by those which are plain, where the same or similar subject is treated of."v As he and his Unitarian brethren believe the resurrection of the body, to be the great doctrine, for the establishment of which, the New Testament was written, they ought to allow that it contains clear information on this subject: and if they object to any light which may be drawn from the Old Testament, it is their own fault; especially as my opponent has appealed to that authority, on this very subject. The passage is, Isa. xxv. 8. "He will swallow up death in victory; and the Lord God will wipe away tears from off all faces; and the rebuke of his people shall he take away from off all the earth: for the Lord hath spoken it."w His argument from this passage depends upon a misinterpretation of the word *all*. That this word is generally used in a limited signification, was abundantly proved in my 9th and 10th *Universalist Arguments*. This passage contains inherent evidence that they are so used here. It says, "the rebuke of his people shall he take away from off *all* the earth." Now "*all* the earth" here, is so far from embracing all men universally, that it excludes all the *people* of God, whom the people of the *earth* rebuke, slander, and persecute. "The reproach and contempt which was daily

v Note A, at the close of his work.

w Minutes, p. 123.

"cast upon his faithful people by the ungodly world,"^x God has promised to take away. In doing this, he will wipe away tears from off all faces; that is, from all the faces of "his people," to whom the next clause of the verse expressly appropriates the promise. Thus, the first *all* in the text, signifies the people of God, who endure great contempt before the resurrection, but whose rebuke is followed by eternal consolation, after the resurrection. The second *all* signifies the people of the world, who rebuke and condemn the righteous, before the resurrection, but who shall themselves, awake from the dust of the earth, to an inheritance of "shame and everlasting contempt." With reference to this passage, Paul uses the word *all*, in the same restricted sense, in 1 Cor. xv. 51, quoted by my opponent.

If while appealing to Isaiah, my opponent had examined the 19th verse of the next chapter, (xxvith,) he would have found the Spirit of Christ promising a happy resurrection, to none but the members of his mystical body; those who have a covenant interest in his death and resurrection. "Thy dead men shall live, together with my dead body shall they arise." With this Paul agreed, when he preached unto them, Jesus and the resurrection. Also Peter and John, when they "preached, through Jesus, the resurrection from the dead." Christ himself restricts the blessings of a happy resurrection to those whom the Father had given him, and whom he emphatically distinguishes from the unbelieving world. "And this is the Father's will which hath sent me, that of all which he hath given me, I should lose nothing, but should raise it up again at the last day." He confines it to those whom the Father draws by his grace. "No man can come to me, except the Father which hath sent me, draw him; and I will raise him up at the last day." Paul confines it to those who have the Spirit of God dwelling in them; and all men have not the Spirit. "But if the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead, dwell in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead, shall also quicken your mortal bodies, by his Spirit that dwelleth in you." Christ restricts it to those who eat and drink his flesh and blood. "Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day." Paul confines it to those who trust in God. "But we had the sentence of death in ourselves, that we should not trust in

^x Poole's Annotations.

"ourselves, but in *God*, which raiseth the dead." Thus does our Lord confine it to believers. "And this is the will of him that sent me; that every one which seeth the Son, and believeth on him, may have everlasting life, and I will raise him up at the last day." "Jesus said unto her, I am the resurrection and the life: he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live." Paul, in the 19th verse of this xvth chapter of 1st Corinthians, quoted by my opponent, has appropriated this blessing to those who have Christian hope, and in another Epistle, to the saints who sleep in Jesus. 'If in this life only we have *hope* in Christ, we are of all men, most miserable." "For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which *sleep in Jesus*, will God bring with him." When John tells us that "the sea gave up the dead which were in it, and death and hell delivered up the dead which were in them," he does not add, as my opponent would, that all were received into heaven, but "whosoever was not found written in the book of life, was cast into the lake of fire." Concerning the fate of these impenitent evil-doers, our Saviour says the same thing, while he confines the blessings of a happy resurrection, to those who have, through grace, done good. "Marvel not at this, for the hour is coming, in the which all that are in the grave, shall hear his voice, and shall come forth, they that have *done good*, unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation."

From these authorities it appears plain, that the inestimable blessing of a resurrection to life, mentioned in Dan. xiii. 2, is not bestowed upon all men universally, but only on those who are given to Christ, and are written in the Lamb's book of life; those who die and rise in Christ, and are drawn to him by the Father, and have his Spirit dwelling in them; those who, by faith, eat and drink his body and blood; those who believe, hope, and trust in him; and those who do good and sleep in Christ. These have a resurrection to life, and shall drink of the river of the water of life. But there are others who are not given to Christ, nor drawn to him; who do not receive him nor his Spirit; who do not believe nor obey him. These are said to have a "resurrection of damnation," and to be "cast into the lake of fire." In the light of these scriptures who can be at a loss for Daniel's mean-

y Acts xvii. 18. iv. 2. John vi. 39, 44. Rom. viii. 11. John vi. 54. 2 Cor. i. 9. John vi. 40. xi. 24—26. 1 Cor. xv. 19. 1 Thess. iv. 14. Rev. xx. 13, 15. John v. 29, 29,

ing? "And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to *everlasting* life, and some to shame and *everlasting* contempt." And what unprejudiced person can help seeing, that as this happiness of believers, and this misery of unbelievers, are declared to be eternal, after the resurrection, when time is at an end, they must both be *absolutely, eternal*?

The Divine Head of the Church has now enabled me, as he has very many before me, to produce evidence that *olam* often signifies *eternal*, whether alone or in conjunction with *od*; and always has this meaning, when in connexion with the happiness of the saints, or the misery of the wicked.² This decides the application of many of those texts, which were read in the commencement of this 2d branch of *affirmative* evidence. "Thou shalt be cut off *for ever*." "And they shall call them the border of wickedness, the people against whom the Lord hath indignation *for ever*." "Their *everlasting* confusion shall not be forgotten." "And I will bring an *everlasting* reproach upon you, and a *perpetual* shame, which shall not be forgotten." "They perish *for ever*, without any regarding it." "Thou prevailest *for ever* against him." "He put them to a *perpetual* reproach." "Let them be confounded and troubled *for ever*; yea, let them be put to shame and perish." "They shall *never* see light." "Thou hast rebuked the heathen; thou hast destroyed the wicked; thou hast put out their name *for ever and ever*."

It was shewn, that after the "resurrection of damnation," the resurrection "to shame and *everlasting* contempt," which is the doom of unbelievers, they are to be "cast into the lake of fire." Several passages of the Old Testament declare that this fire is *OLAM*, *absolutely eternal*: and although, to the

² That *olam* signifies an absolute eternity, is confirmed by the collateral evidence of those parts of the Old Testament which were originally written, not in Hebrew, but in Chaldee, which is nearly related to it. In them it is said, "I blessed the Most High, and I praised and honoured him that liveth *forever*." "He is the living God, and stedfast *forever*." "Blessed be the name of God, from *everlasting* to *everlasting*." His kingdom "shall *never* be destroyed." but, "shall stand *forever*." "But the saints of the Most High shall take the kingdom, and possess the kingdom *forever*, even *forever and ever*." Instead of the Hebrew עולם

or עולמים these passages have the corresponding Chaldaic words עלמא עלמן and עלמא. The meaning is clearly made out by the manner in which they are used. Dan. iv. 34. vi. 26. ii. 20, 44, twice. vii. 18.

careless and whole-hearted, it may, for a while, be a subject of mockery, the time is coming, when those very persons, whether professing religion, or avowedly opposing it, shall be seized with a fearful apprehension of its dreadful reality. "The sinners in Zion are afraid; fearfulness hath surprised the hypocrites. Who among us shall dwell with the devouring fire? Who among us shall dwell with *everlasting* burnings?" "It shall not be quenched night nor day; the smoke thereof shall go up *for ever*." "For ye have kindled a fire in mine anger which shall burn *for ever*." A conscientious conviction that this is the truth of God, and that it is your interest to know it, makes me willing and even anxious to declare it to you; with a hope that my labour shall not be in vain in the Lord; but that your souls may be enlightened as well as alarmed; that they may be sanctified, comforted, and saved, through the grace of God in Jesus Christ.

4.

AION.

This word, in the New Testament, has three meanings; eternity past, eternity to come, and a limited duration.

1. *A limited duration.* It signifies the revolutions of time, the dispensations of Providence, the great and important periods in the history of mankind; this world, with its wisdom and power, riches and honours, course, cares, and concerns. In this sense, it occurs thirty-one times. The particular places are now before me, but need not be read. These *æons*, or *ages*, or *worlds*, had a beginning. "As he spake by the mouth of his holy prophets, *since the world began*."^a They also have an end. "The harvest is the end of the world."^c

2. *Eternity past.* One would expect the New Testament writers to use it for *an absolute eternity*, as they wrote for the Greeks who attached this meaning to it;—as they generally spoke after the manner of the Septuagint;—and as Christian antiquity understood them to use the word in this sense.

^a Matt. xii. 32. xiii. 22, 39, 40, 49. xxiv. 3. xxviii. 20. Mk. iv. 19. Luke i. 70. xvi. 8. xx. 34. Acts iii. 21. Rom. xii. 12. 1 Cor. i. 20, twice. ii. 6, twice. ii. 8. iii. 18. x. 11. 2 Cor. iv. 4. Gal. i. 4. Eph. i. 21. ii. 2. vi. 12. 1 Tim. vi. 17. 2 Tim. iv. 10. Tit. ii. 12. Heb. i. 2. ix. 26. xi. 3.

^b αἰώνος. Luke i. 70. Acts iii. 21.

^c συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος. Matt. xiii. 39, 49. xxiv. 3. xxviii. 20. Heb. ix. 26. 1 Cor. x. 11. τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰώνων.

Scapula says, that *aion* is, as if it were spoken AION ON, *being always*. For this etymology and explication, he refers to Aristotle and Philo, both of whom declare unequivocally, that it means an absolute eternity. An examination of the Septuagint, (with which the Apostles were familiar,) in those passages where *nejeh*, *od*, and *olam* signify *eternity*, will soon shew the use which that ancient translation made of this word; and we have already given some hints, and may yet give others, of the sense in which the Christian fathers understood it. That they were right in their views, is evident from the fact, that the eternity of God's being, wisdom and purposes are communicated in the New Testament, by this word. In the use of *aion*, Paul ascribes honour and praise "unto the King *eternal*, immortal, invisible, the only wise God." Here the first word, *eternal*,^d denotes his existence from eternity, and the second word *immortal*, his existence to eternity. Again; "Known unto God, are all his works, from the beginning of the world;"^e that is, from eternity, for this is the fact. Again; "According to the *eternal* purpose" which he purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord."^f The meaning of our translation here, cannot easily be misunderstood. The word *aion* is translated *eternal*. Some versions are not so decided, but I believe that few of any respectability, oppose this rendering. I could almost promise at a venture, that if my opponent would open and quote those numerous versions, about which he has been so pompously boasting, they would be all in our favour. The Syriac Testament is MEN OLEMA, *from eternity*. With this agrees the French of De Sacy; "*avant tous les temps, before all times*." Beza's Latin is *æternum*. The Spanish is *eterna*, and the Italian, *eterno*; agreeing with our *eternal*. This is Doddridge's translation, and that of Archbishop Newcome: and wonderful to tell! The Socinians have copied it from him, in their celebrated Improved Version: although Macknight has herded with Wakefield, and Scarlett. and my opponent, in taking a different view of the text. It would have been well for the church, if he had never polluted a better communion.

3. *Eternity to come*. Speaking of God, Paul says, "Unto him be glory in the church, by Christ Jesus, throughout all ages, *world without end*." Here Macknight breaks off

^d τῶν αἰώνων. 1 Tim. i. 17.

^e ἀπ' αἰώνος. Acts xv. 18.

^f ἔσο' εἰς τῶν αἰώνων. Eph. iii. 11.

from his company, and renders this passage, "throughout all the endless successions of ages." The Improved Version still follows Newcome, and renders it, "throughout all generations, *for ever and ever*."s Peter says, "But grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. To him be glory, both now and *forever*." So Newcome and the Improved Version. Literally, "both now and unto the day of *eternity*," as Macknight renders it. Here Scarlett and my opponent are left out of sight. To those who give up the present world for Christ, he promises, "in the *world* to come, *eternal* life."^h With this, the Primate and the Improved Version agree. Instead of "in the world to come," Campbell says, "in the future state." Here also, Scarlett and my opponent, with their temporal *ages*, and *æonian* limitations, are quite forgotten.

In the 1st sense of *aion*, given above, it is proved to be sometimes temporal. But under the present head, it may be shewn, that these present limited *aeons* are expressly contrasted with those future *aeons*, which are unlimited. "Whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this *world*, neither in the world to come."ⁱ The word *world*, in this text, is *aion*. in the original: and if this world mean *time*, it is evident that the future must mean *eternity*. The same observation will hold, with regard to what Paul says about the exaltation of our Divine Saviour, "far above all principalities and powers, and might and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this *world*, but also in that which is to come."^j Not only are the disputers, wisdom, and rulers of this world, distinguished from Christ's spiritual kingdom; not only are the children of this world distinguished from the children of light; not only do the scriptures speak of "this present *world*;" and "this present evil *world*,"^k in such a way as plainly to imply a future *aion*, and a state of uninterrupted happiness, but they expressly point out a future *aion*, or *eternity*, which is in heaven, subsequent to the general resurrection; for which we should make present provision, and which we should hope to enjoy, through grace, after the present *aion*, the present state of existence, has come to an end. "And Jesus, an-

s εις παντας τας γενεας του αιωνος των αιωνων. Eph. iii. 21.

h εν τω αιωνι τω ερχομενω, ζωην αιωνιον. Mk. x. 30. Luke xviii. 30.

i Matt. xii. 32.

j Eph. i. 21.

k i Cor. i. 20. ii. 6. Luke vi. 18. 2 Tim. iv. 10. Tit. ii. 12,

"swearing, said unto them, the children of *this world* marry and are given in marriage; but they which shall be accounted worthy to obtain *that world* and *the resurrection from the dead*, neither marry nor are given in marriage; neither can they die any more: for they are equal unto the angels; and are the children of God, being the children of *the resurrection*." "For in *the resurrection* they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God *in heaven*." Here, as in some former instances, Campbell, Newcome, and the Improved Version agree with our translation; and Scarlett and Crimson are left in a company by themselves. The same fact is observed, where we are incorrectly taught to care about the *eterna! world*, by being told that "the care of *this world*," is sometimes pernicious.¹

In the above passages there is a marked distinction between the *temporal aion* and the *eternal aion*. In *this aion*, people marry, and in *that aion*, they do not. *This aion* is before the resurrection, *that aion* is after the resurrection. The people of *this aion* are sinful men on earth, but the people of *that aion*, are "children of God," "children of the resurrection," "as the angels of God in heaven." Thus, at the end of *this aion*, we are taught that God's people, (not unbelievers,) shall arise to *that aion*, an *eternity* of happiness in heaven. With respect to hypocrites and infidels, Christ says, "As, therefore, the tares are gathered and burned in the fire, so shall it be at the end of *this aion*. The Son of man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom, all things that offend, and them which do iniquity; and shall cast them into a furnace of fire; there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth. Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father. Who hath ears to hear, let him hear."^m This furnace of fire may allude to Tophet, which was a furnace in the valley of Hinnom, or it may *allude* to Nebuchadnezzar's furnace in the plain of Dura; but it cannot *mean* either of these places, because they belong to this world, whereas the furnace of fire here threatened, is after "the end of this world." Moreover, the furnace of this world cannot always inflict pain, even when heated seven-fold; whereas in the furnace of fire in the eternal world, "there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth." These are the words of infinite truth, and must come

¹ Luke xx. 34—36. Matt. xxii. 30. xiii. 92.

^m Matt. xiii. 40—43.

to pass: therefore let no one permit himself to be deceived with vain words.

Enough has been said to shew, that in Classical, Ecclesiastical, and Inspired Greek, *Aion* means an endless duration. It does not occur in its absolute form in any of the texts adduced under the second branch of *affirmative* evidence: yet it was necessary to notice it, on account of the bold and unjustifiable assertions of the enemies of truth, and on account of its necessary connexion with the 5th section, where it is often found preceded by a preposition, and with the 6th section, which treats of an adjective derived from it.

While *aion* has been before us, unusually frequent mention has been made of my opponent's new translation of the New Testament, together with the improved version, and that of Mr. Scarlett. As Lowth, and Horsley, and Newcome, and Campbell, and Macknight, have set the world mad about new translations, so that every one must be engaged in it; this will perhaps, be as convenient an opportunity, as I shall soon have again, to give some easy directions for getting a name in this way. Although you may not know whether Greek is read from right to left, or from left to right, you will profess, of course, to translate "from the original Greek according to Griesbach; upon the basis of the fourth London edition of the Improved Version, with an attempt to further improvement from the translations of" others. Then sit down and copy Scarlett's translation, with a number of unmeaning (and therefore safe) transpositions and alterations of words and phrases, to make the work your own. Enclose many words and sentences here and there, in brackets, to shew, that upon a careful comparison of manuscripts, you, in your judgment, think them spurious. Adorn your margin with notes from the Improved Version. Give credit for some, to shew your reading: and after altering a word or two, give others as your own, to shew your learning. Get some printer who understands Greek, to publish the work, with Griesbach in one column, and your doubly improved version in the other. Send a copy to every college in the Union, and invite all the clergy and literati of America to read this thing, and to send you their remarks, after they have paid the postage. As they will probably be weak enough to consider you, as Nabal did David, a servant broken away from his master, they will, of course, take no notice of this invitation. Then publish, that they are silent, because they do not consider the work susceptible of any farther improvement, ex-

cept from its vastly improved author. After this, you can institute a course of lectures on the Greek language, and send round invitations to all the clergy of the city, to attend and be enlightened. They will not come; but their places will be filled by others, who will think you the greatest prodigy, that the world has ever seen, since the time that the image fell from Jupiter.

5.

EIS AIONA.

This is the phrase which is usually translated *for ever*; and its reduplicate, *eis tous aionous ton aionon*, is usually rendered, *for ever and ever*. The former occurs forty times in the New Testament, and the latter, twenty-one times.ⁿ Of these sixty-one instances, six relate to future punishment. These are the first six texts quoted from the New Testament, at the beginning of this branch of *affirmative* evidence. The sense of these phrases in these particular texts, will depend much upon the signification in which they are generally used by the New Testament writers. This meaning can be satisfactorily ascertained, by those who examine the passages, whether they understand Greek or not. We shall therefore lay them before you, in the following order.

1. In seventeen places, it expresses the duration of the being and life, the perfections, promises, and dominion of God. "For thine is the kingdom, and the power and the glory *for ever*." "The Creator, who is blessed *for ever*." "Over *all* God blessed *for ever*." "To whom be glory *for ever*." "Which is blessed *for evermore*." "To whom be glory *for ever and ever*." "Now unto God and our Father, be glory *for ever and ever*." "Be honour and glory *for ever and ever*." "To whom be glory *for ever and ever*." "To him be glory and dominion *for ever and ever*." "For the truth's sake, which dwelleth in us, and shall be with us *for ever*." "He hath holpen his servant Israel, in remembrance of his mercy, as he spake to our fathers, to Abraham and to his seed *forever*." "The word of God, which liveth and abideth *for ever*." "The word of the Lord endureth *for ever*." "Amen: blessing, and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, and honour, and power, and might, be unto our God, *forever and ever*, Amen." "And one of the four beasts, gave

ⁿ Rev. xx. 10. Jude 7. 2 Thess. i. 9. Matt. xviii. 8. Heb. i. 8. 1 Pet. v. 11. iv. 11. Rev. i. 18. iv. 9, 10. v. 13, 14. vii. 12, x. 6. xi. 15, i. 6. xxii. 5. xv. 7. xiv. 11. xix. 3. xx. 10.

"unto the seven angels, seven golden vials, full of the wrath of God, which liveth *for ever and ever*." "Thy throne, O God! is *for ever and ever*."^o

It may be reasonably expected, that all the orthodox agree with our translation, in these passages. Indeed every heretic of sense, would, out of regard to his own character, agree with it. Accordingly, that detestable abomination, nicknamed the Improved Version, being made by sensible men, though bitter enemies to God, has coincided with our translation, in the rendering of the phrases in question, in every one of the above texts; unless the first, which it suppresses entirely, and another, (1 Pet. i. 23,) in which they have juggled this phrase, may be considered exceptions. In the work of suppression, my opponent follows them; for this is his forte: but in all the other fifteen texts, he follows Scarlett, his old guide, in giving us, *to the ages*, and *to the ages of ages*, instead of *for ever*, and *for ever and ever*. His acquaintance with the Improved Version has only made him spoil Scarlett's childish translation with some serious perversions. If they had told us, what they knew to be the fact, and what Junius and Tremellius have told us, in their translation of Dan. xii. 3, that these were *absolutely eternal ages*, SEMPI-TERNA SECLA, it would have altered the case: but an attempt to criticise away, not only the eternity of future rewards and punishments, but the eternity of the Creator himself, is as unreasonable as it is impious.

2. Two of the above texts,^p though using the word God, relate evidently to Christ, who is the Supreme God, and the eternal Son of God, as declared in those texts. Twenty-one others are of the same description.^q One more is spoken of the Holy Spirit.^r

3. It occurs nine times in relation to the saints. "But whoso drinketh of the water I shall give him shall *never* thirst: but the water that I shall give him, shall be in him a well of water springing up unto everlasting life." "If any man eat of this bread, he shall live *forever*." "Verily, verily, I say unto you, if a man keep my sayings, he shall *never* see death;" "*never* taste death." "I give unto

^o Matt. vi. 13. Rom. i. 25. ix. 5. xi. 36. 2 Cor. xi. 31. Gal. i. 5. Phil. iv. 20. 1 Tim. i. 17. 2 Tim. iv. 18. 1 Pet. v. 11. 2 John 2. Luke i. 55. 1 Pet. i. 23, 25. Rev. vii. 12. xv. 7. Heb. i. 8.

^p Rom. ix. 5. Heb. i. 8.

^q Luke i. 33. John viii. 35. xii. 34. Rom. xvi. 27. Heb. v. 6. vi. 20. vii. 17, 21, 24, 28. xiii. 8, 21. 1 Pet. iv. 11. Rev. i. 6, 13. iv. 9, 10. v. 13, 14. x. 6. xi. 15. r John xiv. 16.

"them eternal life, and they shall *never* perish, neither shall any pluck them out of my hand." "Whoso liveth, and believeth in me, shall *never* die." "His righteousness remaineth *forever*." "And the world passeth away, and the lust thereof; but he that doeth the will of God, abideth *forever*." "And they shall reign *for ever and ever*." Here, as before, Scarlett confines the happiness of the saints to an *age*, or *ages*, and my opponent, of course, follows him, in every instance. The authors of the Improved Version would have been glad to do the same: but they had sense enough to keep from exposing themselves. They, therefore, fell in with the common translation.*

4. There are six instances remaining;† in all of which the Improved Version is right, in the translation of this phrase, and Scarlett and my opponent wrong, as before. The great improvement which they have made, by rendering *eis aiona*, to *the age*, may be in some measure estimated, by a comparison of their translation with ours, in one of these texts. Our bible says, "The servant abideth not in the house *for ever*; but the son abideth *ever*." This declaration that "the son abideth *ever*," "in the house," is equivalent to Ps. xxiii. 6, "Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life; and I will dwell in the house of the Lord *for ever*;" that is, after this life has come to an end. But it is said that "the servant abideth not in the house *for ever*; that is, *to eternity*: for, would it be correct to say, that he does not abide in the house during this life? Is it not a common thing, for hypocrites to live and die in the visible church? In this text, therefore, *eis aiona* occurs twice, with an unlimited signification. Now, let us hear the doubly improved translation, which my opponent has made, for the benefit of the unlearned. "And the slave abideth not in the *house to the age*: but the son abideth *to the age*." Among all classes of the community, it is a very common thing, to talk of sons being *of age*, and consequently leaving their father's house; and of slaves abiding in the house *to old age and death*. The unlearned, and unsophisticated reader of my opponent's Version, would exclaim, How different was the custom in former times, from that which now prevails! Now a slave abides in the house during life: but in old times, he did not continue in the house, even until he was *of age*.

* John iv. 14. vi. 51, 58. viii. 51, 52. x. 28. xi. 26. 2 Cor. ix. 9. 1 John ii. 17. Rev. xxii. 5.

† John viii. 25, twice. 1 Cor. viii. 13. John xiii. 8. Matt. xxi. 19. Mk. xi. 14.

This is about as much of an improvement, as that of a certain expounder who read *beggar's skins* for *badger's skins*, in Ex. xxvi. 14, or another who substituted *an oyster-man* for *an austere man*, in Luke xix. 21.

We have now given all the passages in which *eis aiona* and its reduplicate occur in the New Testament. In the scores of places, in which it marks the duration of the being, perfections, and sovereignty, of God, and of Christ, and of the Holy Spirit, judge ye, whether it does not mean, *to an absolute eternity*. Among the few places in which it relates to other subjects, even the Improved Version cannot shew that it should be limited. What, then, are we to conclude, in relation to those six passages, in which it is connected with future punishment? "He that shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost, hath *never* forgiveness." "These are wells without water: clouds they are, carried with a tempest, to whom the mist of darkness is reserved *for ever*." "Raging waves of the sea, foaming out their own shame: to whom is reserved the blackness of darkness, *for ever*." "And the smoke of their torment ascendeth up *for ever and ever*: and they shall have no rest, day nor night, who worship the Beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth the mark of his name." "And again, they said, Alleluia: and her smoke rose up *for ever and ever*." "And the devil, that deceived them, was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where the Beast and the false prophet are, and shall be tormented day and night, *for ever and ever*."^a

In all these places, the Improved Version agrees with our bible, in the translation of *eis aiona* and its reduplicate. But as these passages declare the doctrine of future punishment very plainly, it becomes necessary for them to add a few notes, in order to contradict the text. They have one to Rev. xiv. 11, "The smoke of their torment shall go up *for ever and ever*." Their note reads as follows; viz. "It would be very unreasonable to infer the gloomy doctrine of eternal misery from the loose and figurative language of a prophetic vision, in opposition to the plainest dictates of reason and justice, and to the whole tenor of divine revelation. But if any is disposed to lay undue stress upon this text, it may be sufficient to remark, that it is not here asserted that the torment continues, but that the smoke of it ascends *for ever and ever*. The smoke of a pile in which

^a Mk. iii. 29. 2 Pet. ii. 17, Jude 13. Rev. xiv. 11. xix. 3. xx. 10.

“ a criminal has been consumed may continue to ascend long
 “ after the wretched victim has ceased to suffer. And a memorial of the punishment which has been inflicted on vice
 “ may remain long after vice itself has been utterly exterminated. After all, as the prophecy relates wholly to
 “ states of things in the present world, the punishments
 “ threatened ought, in all reason, to be understood of temporal punishments, and not of the sufferings of a future life.
 “ So in Jude, verse 7, Sodom and Gomorrha are represented
 “ as suffering the vengeance of eternal fire, i. e. of a temporal calamity, a fire which completely destroyed them.”

Whether *eternal* means *temporal*, we hope to examine in the next section, which treats of *aionios*. But it is somewhat remarkable, that while this note says that *eternal* means *temporal*, it substantially concedes, that *for ever and ever* means *to an endless duration*. They admit that the smoke ascends *forever and ever*, that is, without end ; but they deny that sinners are tormented *for ever and ever*, that is, without end. If, by this phrase, they understood a limited time, then what they have said, would amount to a denial that sinners endure a limited punishment ; a thing which they never intended. It is only an endless punishment which they deny : and this endless punishment they admit would have been here declared, if the text had declared the same concerning the torment of men's persons, that it has, concerning the smoke of their torment. On this ground, therefore, they shall be met. I shall not throw away time in disputing whether the Apocalypse relates wholly to the present world ; for as the Universalists and Orthodox alike, quote from it, for and against the *eternal* salvation of all men, it shall be taken for granted, that the assertion contained in the above note, is gratuitous, contradictory and absurd. Neither shall I undertake formally to defend the infallibility of revelation, in whole or in part, in opposition to the scornful reflection contained in the above note. The plenary inspiration of the Scriptures, I must now take for granted ; and leave it to infidels and heretics, to prate about the “ loose ” language of scripture, and about the “ far-fetched analogies, and inaccurate reasonings ” of inspired Apostles ; as this same Improved Version has done, in another note also, at the close of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

If it were possible for a conscientious man, to write such a note as that of the Improved Version, on Rev. xiv. 11, he would do it from a sincere conviction, that it was only the

smoke of torment which is to continue *for ever and ever*, after the sufferings of sinners have ceased: he would do it from a real belief that neither that passage of Revelation, nor any other passage, taught that sinners themselves were to be tormented *for ever and ever*. Yet in Rev. xx. 10, the same thing which was before declared of the smoke of torment, is said of sinners expressly. "And the devil, that deceived them, was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where the Beast and the false prophet are, and shall be tormented day and night *for ever and ever*." As it will not do to answer this text, by talking of smoke without fire, or fire without fuel, the Improved Version escapes its force, by retreating to allegory, the last and never failing refuge, of imbecile corruption and blind depravity. According to them, "the persons who are here said to be tormented *for ever and ever*, are not real, but figurative, and symbolical persons, the devil, the beast, and the false prophet. The place therefore, the kind, and the duration of their torment, must also be figurative." When God tells these children of delusion, that the smoke of torment shall continue for ever; they pretend that it is nothing but smoke. When God tells them, that the devil and the beast and the false prophet, and all who worship and follow them, shall be tormented for ever; these wonderful expounders say, none of these are real beings: and if they had been told expressly, that the Emperor and the Pope, and their secular and ecclesiastical subalterns, with Judas and the authors of the Improved Version, should be punished for ever; they would reply, this is a "*heart-withering doctrine*," conveyed in "loose" language, as I conceive, "in opposition to the plainest dictates of reason," and therefore, I am not "disposed to lay undue stress upon" it. God has told us of a real devil, real sinners, and a real hell: if, by the pestilential breath of a little squadron of these rebels, their whole host is to evaporate into mere shadows, and figures, and symbols; who can tell where this process of pride and folly will end? Will they not next declare, with equal truth, that there are none but imaginary saints, an imaginary heaven, and an imaginary God?

But one feels a natural curiosity, to know, what my opponent's doubly improved version makes of these authorities. He exactly follows the directions which I gave some time ago, for obtaining a name, as a linguist and a critic. He adopts Scarlett's translation of the words in question.

and copies the notes of the Improved Version, as his own, without giving credit to any one for them.^v No wonder that the University of Cambridge, when they received his book, looked in silent amazement, on such audacity. If, however, a man of Scarlett's light metal, had been alive, he would not probably have been silent. May God preserve us from the principles of Universalism, and from its deleterious effects upon the morals of its votaries.

6.

Aionios.

This word is found in the first and the five last of the New Testament authorities, quoted in the commencement of this second branch of affirmative evidence. Thus it is six times connected with future punishment. Whether it means *absolutely eternal*, in these instances, will depend in a great measure, upon the meaning in which it is used, in the remainder of the seventy-one times, in which it occurs in the New Testament. It will be found predicated of infinite duration, past as well as future.

1. It is applied four times, to things unseen, to God, his Spirit, power and glory "The things which are seen, are temporal: but the things which are not seen, are *eternal*." "According to the commandment of the *everlasting* God." "To whom be honour and power *everlasting*." Christ "through the *eternal* Spirit offered himself, without spot, to God."^w In rendering *aionios* in these texts, the Improved Version agrees with our bible, as with all others, in general, in every language. On the last text, my opponent copies a note of theirs, for which he gives them credit: but he follows Scarlett, in transcribing instead of translating.

2. It is applied five times to Christ, his covenant, kingdom, and gospel.^x

3. It is applied three times, to eternity past, "According to the revelation of the mystery, which was kept secret, since the world began."^y "Who hath saved us" "according to his own purpose and grace, which was given us

^v He only altered *eternal* into *aionian*; and put *to the ages of ages*, instead of *for ever and ever*.

^w 2 Cor. iv. 18. Rom. xvi. 26. 1 Tim. vi. 16. Heb. ix. 14.

^x 1 John i. 2, v. 20. Heb. xiii. 20. 2 Pet. i. 11. Rev. xiv. 6.

^y Rom. xvi. 25. 2 Tim. i. 9. Tit. i. 2.

^z *ἡμετέρας αἰωνίου*. Rom. xvi. 25. Comp. 1 Pet. i. 12. "Which things the angels desire to look into."

"in Christ Jesus, before the world began."^a "In hope of eternal life, which God, that cannot lie, promised before the world began."^b The same words *Chronoi aionioi*, occurring in all these places, have received a uniform translation, in our bible. Not so with my opponent's excessively improved version. The same words, he renders *former ages*, in the first text, and *aionian times*, in the two last. This, however, was necessary, in order to make his New Translation, a faithful copy of Scarlett's old one. How easy it is, now-a-days, to translate from the original Greek!

On these two last texts, Macknight speaks as follows; viz. "Supposing the word *aionios* in this clause, to signify *eternal*, the literal translation of the passage would be, *before eternal times*. But that being a contradiction in terms, our translators, contrary to the propriety of the Greek language, have rendered it, *before the world began*." From such reasoning, as this, the most eminent anti-universalist polemic has relinquished these two instances, and these alone, of all the seventy-one, in which this word occurs. But if these *a priori* reasonings be regarded, we may speculate away every thing that is valuable in criticism and theology. Language is arbitrary, and is formed by custom. The use of ancient languages is no more subject to the control of a modern critic, than the fires of *Ætna* are subject to a modern engineer. This sort of reasoning would attach absurdity to some of the best authorized usages of our own language. Is it more contradictory to say, that *before eternity* and *absolute eternity* mean the same thing, than to say that *ravel* and *unravel* mean the same? Because two negatives make an affirmative with us, shall we charge the Greeks with absurdity, for making them an emphatical negative? It is well for us, that there are some men, of all ages, and all degrees of improvement, whom such sophistry never moves. The established signification of *AIONIOS*, *eternal*, did not prevent Gregory Nazianzen from using *PROAIONIOS*, *before eternal*, in the same sense. Thus is it understood by the best modern expositors of the language. Hedericus explains *PROAIONIOS*, by the Latin *ÆTERNUS*, *eternal*; and Scapula explains the same word, by *OMNI ÆTERNITATE PRIOR*, *before all eternity*. This is, to all intents and purposes, as absurd, as the expression *before the eternal times*, which Macknight

^a πρὸ χρόνων αἰωνίων. 2 Tim. i. 9.

^b πρὸ χρόνων αἰωνίων. Tit. i. 2.

^c P. 232.

has condemned. Yet either *before the eternal times*, or *before all eternity*, would be as correct a translation of the texts in question, as "*above all heavens*" is of Eph. iv. 10. The Scriptures recognize three heavens, the arial and ætherial heavens, and the heavens of heavens: higher than which, no one ever went. Yet the apostle says, "He that descended, is the same also that ascended up far above all heavens, that he might fill all things." Now, if the heavens are to be understood literally, would not Macknight's mode of interpretation make this passage say, that Christ has not only ascended above the first heavens, our atmosphere, in which clouds are suspended, and birds fly;—not only above the second heavens, in which the sun, moon and stars are placed;—but above, and far above, all heavens, even the third heavens, the residence of God and angels, and saints? But suppose that in this text, *heavens* should be understood metonymically. Suppose that it means the inhabitants of heaven. Would not Macknight's mode of interpretation make the text say, that Christ had ascended not only above saints and angels, but far above the eternal Father, and the eternal Spirit? It is easy for a sickly hypercriticism to find absurdities in the best translation, or even in the pure, authentic, and infallible original. Yet in answer to them all, I would say, that Christ has ascended into heaven; and that to express this emphatically, the apostle said that he had ascended far above all heavens. So I would say that salvation through Christ, was promised before the world began, before the commencement of time, that is, from eternity: and this is emphatically expressed by the apostle, when speaking of this salvation, as a thing "which God, that cannot lie, promised, *PRO CHRONON AIONION*, *before the eternal times*; that is, from an absolute eternity.

There is not a whit more of absurdity, in this mode of expression, than there is in the addition and multiplication of *eternities*, which we find practised in the Old and New Testament, with such intelligible familiarity, and such unquestionable correctness. In most subjects, the plural is more than the singular: not so with *olam* and *aion*. In most cases, the amount is greatly enhanced by the multiplication of a plural. Myriads of myriads mentioned Rev. ix 16, is ten thousand times more than the simple plural. Not so with eternity. The addition or multiplication of *aions* amounts to nothing more than an emphatical way of expressing a simple eternity. *Eis aiona* and its reduplicate mean the same

thing. So the word *God* and its reduplicate mean the same thing. When the Council of Nice says, "We believe in one God," did they mean any thing more, or any thing less than the true God? When the same Council say that the Lord Jesus Christ is "God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God," they speak thus, not to represent the Saviour, as more or less than God, but to express in an unequivocal manner, his essential Deity, and his peculiar and eternal relation to the Father. So we speak of *heaven* as God's dwelling place; and we mean no other than his dwelling-place, when we speak of the *heavens* and the *heavens of heavens*, or *far above all heavens*. Thus do the scriptures mean the same thing by *from eternity*, and "*before the eternal times*."

4. It is applied ten times to the future duration of Christian fraternity, of the celestial house and habitation of the saints, of their glory and inheritance, consolation, salvation, and redemption. "For perhaps he therefore departed for a season, that thou mightest receive him *for ever*." "I say unto you, make to yourselves friends of the Mammon of unrighteousness, that when ye fail, they may receive you into *everlasting* habitations." "Therefore I endure all things for the elects' sake, that they may also obtain the salvation which is in Christ Jesus, with *eternal* glory." "But the God of all grace, who hath called us unto his *eternal* glory, by Christ Jesus, after that ye have suffered awhile, make you perfect, stablish, strengthen, settle you." "Now our Lord Jesus Christ himself, and God, even our Father, who hath loved us, and given us *everlasting* consolation, and good hope, through grace." "The promise of *eternal* inheritance." "Having obtained *eternal* redemption for us." "He became the author of *eternal* salvation unto all them that obey him." "An house not made with hands, *eternal* in the heavens." "A far more exceeding and *eternal* weight of glory."^d

The above passages speak of the future happiness of believers, which my opponent professes to believe *eternal*. They contrast that eternal happiness with these temporal afflictions; and they are intended to comfort the Christian under the calamities of time. No one ought, therefore, to doubt, that the word *aionios* is here used in an unlimited sense, and has been correctly rendered in our bible. But, Scarlett, knowing the consequence of such an admission, chose rather

^d Philem. xv. Luke xvi. 9. 2 Tim. ii. 10. 1 Pet. v. 10. 2 Thess. ii. 16. Heb. ix. 15, 19, v. 9. 2 Cor. v. 1. iv. 17.

to transcribe than translate, and has thus spoken to the unlearned reader in an unknown tongue. A Ministerial brother in the West, once lent me a book on Universalism ; in which the author, whose name I cannot recollect, supposes a case of a poor afflicted widow, endeavouring to seek in religion, an alleviation for her many and heavy sorrows. Applying to Mr. Scarlett, a professed Christian Minister, he lends her a copy of his New Testament. She opens at 2 Cor. iv. 17. " For our momentary light affliction is working out for us " a most exceeding *æonian* weight of glory." This treats of affliction, and is probably applicable to her case ; but what it means, she cannot tell. She visits her learned instructor, and says, " Dear Mr. Scarlett ; what does *æonian* mean ?" " Why, Madam, it means *agical*, or *age-lasting*." " And may " I be so bold as to ask, what is the meaning of *agical*, or *age-lasting* ?" " *Age-lasting*, or *agical*, Madam, has different significations. It sometimes means as long as the world lasts, and sometimes, as long as a dispensation, or a man's life lasts, whether it be a thousand years or one year." " And " dear Mr. Scarlett, is that all the extent of glory and happiness, which Christianity offers to a poor old widow, who " is sinking under the weight of more than half a century of " sorrow ?"

But, from my opponent's reply to this supposed case, he would be understood to insinuate that it was not found in a book, as stated, but that it was manufactured for the occasion, and the name of Scarlett used, where his was really intended. He therefore requests that his own name may be openly used in such cases. The truth is, there is very little more difference between the two, than there is between an original and a copy. This request may be complied with, as soon as I have given a becoming attention to his translation and exposition of the afflicted widow's text. " For our " present light affliction worketh for us an excessively exceeding *aionian* weight of glory." In a note he gives us the Greek,* and then speaks as follows, viz. " Now if *aionion* " be strictly infinite or endless, how can any thing exceed it, " even by a rhetorical figure, so as to be *hyperbole upon hyperbole* above or beyond it ?" The sentiment of this question he has urged before you, not only interrogatively but positively. " Excessively exceeding *aionian* weight of glory," is an altered translation borrowed from one who had little

* καὶ ὑπερβολὴν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν αἰωνιον.

idea of the perversion which it was doomed to undergo. Its author meant *exceeding* to be in apposition with *aionian* or *eternal*, and would have been as well satisfied to have rendered it "exceedingly excessive eternal;" thus making it evident that the one adjective was in apposition with the other. This is consistent with the original, and leaves *aionian* with its true meaning, that of *absolutely eternal*. But my opponent treats *exceeding* as a participle governing *aionian*: thus representing the weight of glory as *exceeding aionian*, in such a manner as to excel it, transcend it, go "above or beyond it." If this criticism had any foundation, then might there be one place in the whole New Testament, in which *aionos* is used with a limited signification. But every person who understands the Greek language, will perceive, at a glance, that this is a mere artifice, intended to mislead those who could not examine the original for themselves.

I have reason to believe that my opponent has read a comment upon this passage, by Chrysostom, one of the Greek Fathers.^f How differently does this early and enlightened scholar interpret the words of his own language, from one who claims the character of a translator from the original Greek! In explaining this passage of the apostle, Chrysostom says, "He opposes things present to things future, a *moment to eternity*, lightness to weight, affliction to glory; nor is he satisfied with this, but he adds another word, and that a reduplication, saying, '*kath' hyperbolon eis hyper-bolon*,' that is, an exceedingly excessive greatness." Here this eloquent Greek Father does not represent *aionian*, as infinitely transcended by something else, but he considers the apostle as contrasting *aionian* with the *moment* of this life, and making it to excel it, by an *exceedingly excessive greatness*. As this cannot be truly said, of any thing but *eternity*, Chrysostom has given his decided testimony, that *aionian* means an *absolutely eternal*.

That gloss of my opponent, by which he would make *exceeding* to be a participle, governing *aionian*, and thus exceedingly limiting its duration, is probably an invention of his own. No translator or commentator, ancient or modern, within the restricted circle of my acquaintance, appears ever

^f This observation was made in the debate, not from an apprehension that my opponent was familiar with the Fathers, but because the commentary in question is quoted by Parkhurst, whose lexicons I soon found, formed the horizon of my opponent's critical researches.

ἡ μεγεθος υπερβολικως υπερβολικον.

to have imagined such an absurdity. Even the authors of the Improved Version, who wrote for the very purpose of misleading their readers, had too much knowledge of Greek, and of the present state of society, to attempt such an imposition. Their translation is, "For our present light affliction *"worketh for us a very exceeding and everlasting weight of glory."* Although this does not strongly present the antitheses of the original, it still offers the consolation of *eternal* happiness in heaven, to God's afflicted and poor people on earth.

In the next chapter of this Epistle, Paul preaches the same consolatory doctrine, without the use of those *hyperboles* which we have been discussing. "For we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have *"a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens"*^h My opponent, as usual, has this, "*aionian* in the heavens." Now I will not send the afflicted widow to Mr. Scarlett, about this translation: but as my opponent has requested that his name may be used instead of Scarlett's, I will make application to him myself. Here is a poor, weakly, sickly sinner, who, to all appearance, is not far from his latter end. Nothing but the Gospel of Christ can give me comfort. While my earthly tabernacle is near to dissolution, I read in a certain thing, professing to be a New Translation, that there is an *aionian* house above. I enquire into the meaning of this word. Can you tell me, Mr. Scarlett, or, as my opponent prefers my using another name, can you tell me, Mr. Crimson, what is meant by *aionian*, in your translation? In the 216th page of his Lectures, he answers me "that these words do not, in any instance, necessarily convey an idea of eternity; nor yet an endless duration of time." Yes, these are my opponent's words: and the tendency of them to deny that the saints have any revealed charter of eternal happiness is evident. And is it a fact then, that even that house which is not made with hands, is subject to dissolution? So natural is the leaning of the doctrine of universal salvation, to that of universal annihilation, or damnation, or Atheism, that it would leave us to mere conjecture, or, at best, to unassisted reason, to ascertain whether any should enjoy eternal happiness or not.

My opponent has also objected, to my understanding of the first text quoted, in the beginning of this sub-section. It

^h 2 Cor. v. 1.

is Philemon 15. In his 8th Lecture we find the following paragraph extracted from Scarlett; viz. "The word *aionian* expresses duration or continuance; but it is sometimes of "a short, and at other times of a longer duration. Paul, writing to Philemon concerning Onesimus, says, 'perhaps he was separated for a while, that thou mightest have him *aionianly*.' This certainly could mean, only during the life of Onesimus." When Scarlett is the teacher, my opponent is a very apt scholar. Accordingly, his New Testament renders the passage, "Perhaps also for this reason he was separated for a little while, that thou mightest have him, *for life*." Macknight, whom he has quoted in his favour, may be well balanced by Estius, whom Macknight has cited in our favour. But we both profess to have better evidence than any man's opinion. My opponent's argument is this;—Paul intimates that Onesimus may be the slave of Philemon *aionianly*;—But in the future life there is no slavery;—therefore, *aionian* must mean *during this life*. This is plausible; and it would be unanswerable, if it were not for one thing: and that is, that the major proposition contradicts the very passage which my opponent depends upon to support it. Where does the apostle say, that Philemon may have Onesimus as a servant *for ever*? The Improved Version, which coincides with our translation; (and which, notwithstanding its deep depravity, is often better than Macknight, that cold-hearted apostate,) the Improved Version, reads as follows: "For perhaps he therefore departed for a time, that thou mightest receive him *for ever; no longer as a servant, but as above a servant, a beloved brother*." In this world it is an inestimable privilege of Christ's mystical body, that its members are spiritually united to their common head, and to each other. But there is also a promise, that "neither death nor life," "nor things present nor things to come," shall dissolve this union.ⁱ My argument therefore, is this;—Paul says, that Philemon may have Onesimus, as his *aionion* brother;—But Christian brotherhood is absolutely eternal;—Therefore *aionion* means *absolutely eternal*. And so it plainly does in all the ten instances quoted in this subsection.

6. In the forty-one remaining instances of its occurrence, unconnected with punishment, it is always found connected with life; and in every individual text, speaks of a state of

ⁱ Rom. viii. 38, 39.

endless happiness.^j "What shall I do to inherit *eternal life*?"^k
 "Search the Scriptures: for in them ye think ye have *eternal life*, and they are they which testify of me." "Ye put it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of *everlasting life*." "No murderer hath *eternal life* abiding in him."^l
 "Keep yourselves in the love of God, looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, unto *eternal life*." "And every one that hath forsaken houses, or brothers, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my sake, shall receive one hundred fold, and shall inherit *everlasting life*."^m "Whosoever believeth in him, should not perish, but have *eternal life*:" or "*everlasting life*." "He that believeth on the Son hath *everlasting life*." "The water that I shall give him, shall be in him, a well of water springing up into *everlasting life*." "He that reapeth, receiveth wages, and gathereth fruit unto *life eternal*." "He that heareth my word, and believeth on him that sent me, hath *everlasting life*, and shall not come into condemnation, but is passed from death unto life." "Labour not for the meat which perisheth, but for that which endureth unto *everlasting life*." "This is the will of him that sent me, that every one which seeth the Son, and believeth on him, may have *everlasting life*." "He that believeth on me, hath *everlasting life*." "Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, hath *eternal life*." "Thou hast the words of *eternal life*." "And I give unto them *eternal life*, and they shall never perish, neither shall any man pluck them out of my hand." "He that loveth his life, shall lose it, and he that hateth his life in this world, shall keep it unto *life eternal*." "And I know that his commandment is *life everlasting*." "Thou hast given him power over all flesh, that he should give *eternal life* to as many as thou hast given him. And this is *life eternal*; that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent."^m
 "And as many as were ordained to *eternal life*, believed."

^j During the debate, I gave a concise gloss upon these texts as they were read, to prove that they really meant *eternal life*. These and much other matter which was spoken, and much which was prepared, and not spoken, I omit, for precision's sake, in the written argument. Neither are all of the texts repeated in whole or in part; because many of them are almost in the same words: but all are referred to in the notes.

^k Matt. xix. 16. x. 17. Luke x. 25, xviii. 18.

^l John v. 39. Acts xiii. 46. 1 John iii. 15. Jude 21. Matt. xix. 29. Mk. x. 30. Luke xviii. 30.

^m John iii. 15, 16, 36. iv. 14, 36. v. 24. vi. 27, 40, 47, 54, 68. x. 28. xii. 25, 50. xvii. 2, 3.

“ To them who, by patient continuance in well-doing, seek
 “ for glory and honour, and immortality, *eternal life*.”
 “ That as sin hath reigned unto death, even so might grace
 “ reign through righteousness, unto *eternal life*, by Jesus
 “ Christ our Lord.” “ Ye have your fruit unto holiness, and
 “ the end *everlasting life*. For the wages of sin is death ; but
 “ the gift of God is *eternal life*, through Jesus Christ our
 “ Lord.” “ He that soweth to the Spirit, shall of the Spirit
 “ reap *life everlasting*.” “ Howbeit, for this cause I obtained
 “ mercy ; that in me first, Jesus Christ might shew forth all
 “ long-suffering, for a pattern to them which should hereaf-
 “ ter, believe on him, to *life everlasting*.” “ Fight the good
 “ fight of faith ; lay hold on *eternal life*.”^a “ In hope of *eter-
 “ nal life*.” “ According to the hope of *eternal life*.” “ And
 “ this is the promise that he hath promised us, even *eternal
 “ life*.” “ And this is the record, that God hath given to us
 “ *eternal life*, and this life is in his Son.” “ These things
 “ have I written unto you that believe on the name of the
 “ Son of God, that ye may know that ye have *eternal life*.”^o

If that is *absolutely eternal life*, which is the result of
 God's unparalleled love, which is Christ's greatest gift, and
 the subject of the greatest promise ;—if that be really *eternal
 life*, which Jews and murderers rejected and forfeited, and
 which apostles, saints and martyrs gained, through grace,
 in exchange for temporal life ;—if that be truly *eternal life*,
 which we are required to seek, as an imperishable good, and
 an everlasting consolation, connected with a good hope ;—
 then, *aiônios* means *absolutely eternal*. Socinians themselves
 acknowledge that *immortality*, or *incorruption* means an ab-
 solute eternity : yet in the above passages, God has promised
eternal life to those who seek *immortality* or *incorruption*.
 All but Atheists acknowledge that God exists, in the exer-
 cise of his infinite perfections, to an *absolute eternity* : yet in
 the above authorities, we find that while God and Christ
 thus exist, the *eternal life* of the saints shall endure.^p So far
 is it from having bounds set to it, in the passages quoted,
eternal glory is expressly contrasted with temporal suffer-
 ing, and the *eternal house* and habitation of believers is con-
 trasted with their earthly and failing abode.

Out of the seventy-one places in which this word occurs,
 we have now recounted sixty-five ; in all of which, the un-

ⁿ Acts xiii. 48. Rom. ii. 7. v. 21. vi. 22, 23. Gal. vi. 8. 1 Tim. i. 16. vi. 12, 19:

^o Tit. i. 2. iii. 7. 1 John ii. 25, v. 11, 13.

^p Rom. ii. 7. John x. 28, 29.

learned, as well as the learned, can perceive that *aionios* means *absolutely eternal*. This might never have been disputed, but for the sake of the remaining six, which read as follows. "He that shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost, hath never forgiveness, but is in danger of *eternal damnation*." "Even as Sodom and Gomorrhah, and the cities about them, in like manner, giving themselves over to fornication, and going after strange flesh, are set forth an example, suffering the vengeance of *eternal fire*." "Who shall be punished with *everlasting destruction* from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power." "It is better for thee to enter into life halt or maimed; rather than having two hands or two feet, to be cast into *everlasting fire*." "Then shall he say unto them on the left hand, depart from me ye cursed, into *everlasting fire*, prepared for the devil and his angels." "And these shall go away into *everlasting punishment*, but the righteous into *life eternal*." ^q

The note which my opponent has, without giving credit, copied from the Improved Version, on the first of these texts, was worth so little, that he appears to have stolen it merely to keep his hand in.^r Concerning the *eternal fire*, mentioned in the second text, he speaks as follows, viz. "It is said to be set forth as an example to others, that they may avoid a similar fate. Now, I ask you, my hearers, admitting the meaning my opponent attaches to it were true, can that which takes place in an invisible world, be an example to those who exist here, and who have never seen any thing of it, nor any who came from thence?—It is said to be set forth: of course it must be something that is brought into view, and not that which is hidden. The apostle says, (2 Pet. ii. 6,) 'And turning the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah into ashes, condemned them with an overthrow, making them an ensample unto those that after should live ungodly.' Now, I ask, what fire was *set forth* as an example to other nations, who should *afterwards* live ungodly? Could it be the fire of my opponent's Hell in another world, which was set forth as an example to those who should live here as the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah? No, my hearers, it was the fire which destroyed those cities, and continued to the days of the apostle, which is here meant." At the same time, he quotes from Scarlett,

^q Mk. iii. 29. Jude 7. 2 Thess. i. 9. Matt. xviii. 8. xiv. 41, 46.

^r He has made an unimportant alteration of a few words, to make it his own; as some men take possession of their neighbour's cattle, after altering their marks.

who professed to quote from Whitby, that "This fire lasted from Abraham's time, till after the apostolic age; and was burning in the time of Philo Judæus, the beginning of the second century." In his Lectures, he tells us, from Scarlett, that this fire "lasted upwards of two thousand years," "but is now extinct."

The substance of the above argument is this;—Nothing can be set forth as an example, but that which is submitted to ocular inspection;—But Sodom and Gomorrha "are set forth an example, suffering the vengeance of *aionian* fire;"—Therefore, this *aionian* fire must mean that visible fire which lasted upwards of two thousand years, but is now extinct; Wherefore, it cannot be an absolutely eternal fire. My opponent says, "It is set forth: of course, it must be something that is brought into view; and not that which is hidden." "Can that which takes place in an invisible world be an example to those who exist here, and who have never seen any thing of it, nor any who came from thence?"

But, in reply to these sage remarks, I would observe, that he would not believe it, if one were to come from thence. For God has said, "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead." But is it true, that nothing can be set forth as an example, but that which is seen? James says, "Take, my brethren, the prophets, who have spoken in the name of the Lord, for an example of suffering affliction, and of patience." Had James or those to whom he wrote, ever seen these prophets? Concerning the destruction of the Israelites in the wilderness, Paul writes to the Corinthians, "Now these things were our examples, to the intent we should not lust after evil things, as they also lusted." "Now all these things happened unto them for ensamples: and they are written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come." Had Paul or the Corinthians ever seen the carnage in the wilderness? Moreover; in the text quoted above by my opponent, Peter says that God has made the case of Sodom and Gomorrha "an ensample unto those that after should live ungodly." Is it an example to no ungodly person that has not seen the fire?

The manner in which Universalists contradict themselves and one another on this text in Jude, looks unfavourably.

s Minutes, p. 274. Lectures, p. 207.

t Jas. v. 10.

u 1 Cor. x. 6, 11.

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